

RELIQUIÆ SACRÆ
CAROLINÆ.

Ann OR THE *Policy*
VV OR KS
his OF THAT *booke*
GREAT MONARCH
AND
GLORIOUS MARTYR
King CHARLS the I.

Collected together, and digested in order,
according to their several Subjects,
CIVIL and SACRED.

The Contents appear in the next ensuing Pages.

2 King 23.25. And like unto him there was no King before him, that turned to the Lord with all his heart, &c. Heb. 11.4. Being dead, he yet speaketh.

Ann  C. R.  *Policy*
his  *booke*

HAGUE,

Printed by Samuel Browne. 1650.

now H. J. Polys



RELIABLE SOURCE
OF ALL THE
LATEST INFORMATION
ON THE
GREAT MOUNTAIN



GLORIOUS
King

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SERENISS. PRINCIPI AC DOMINO
CAROLO II. FILIONAT. MAJ. CAR. I
MARTYRIO CORONATI.

VIRTUTUM PATERN. ANTITYP. VERO
REGN. HÆRED. AC SUCCESS. INDUBIO.
AVITÆ RELIG. LEGUM AC LIBERTAT
[QUAS IMPIA NOVATORUM RABIES
CONCULCAVIT]
INSTAURATORI DESIDERATISS.

SACRAS HASCE SANCTISS. MARTYRIS
RELIQUIAS.

DIVINOS MENTIS HEROICÆ
PARTUS.

ÆTERNA VIRTUT. REGIARUM
MONUMENTA.

HUMILIME CONSECRAT
MAJEST. VESTRÆ SUBDITUS.

PATR. NUPER SERVUS
DEVOTISS.

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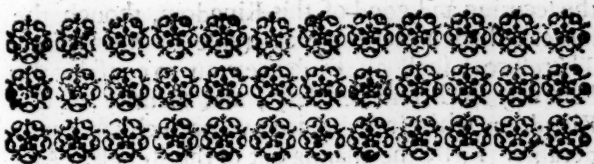
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The

THe Reader is desired to take notice, That where-
as there is published a late Book, intituled, *Cer-
tamen Religiosum, Or a Conference between His Majesty
and the late deceased Marquesse of Worcester, concerning
divers points of Religion*, That His Majesty is much
wronged in that broken and imperfect Relation, w^{ch}
depends upon the memory and credit of an obscure
person, who, as it seems composed most of it, and
published it diverse years after the Conference; and
that it doth neither in the stile, nor matter, agree with
his Majesties other Works, but in some things con-
tradicts his Majesties judgement expressed in his other
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because it is not attested by any authentick Witness,
and seems to be published for other ends then are
pretended, (as the Reader may easily discern) it was
not therefore thought worthy to be joyned with his
Majesties other genuine and undoubted Works.

Errata.

PAge 96. l. 15. for 24. r. 29. p. 97. l. 20. for December
r. February, p. 150. l. 26 for made r. more. p. 160 a
whole page is transposed. That of 160 is to come in, after
that of 161. p. 212. for 25 r. 24. p. 213 for 26 r. 25.
p. 250 l. 2. for 1644. r. 1645. p. 254 l. 2. r. 1645. p. 272
l. 1. r. 36. p. 169. l. 24. for honour r. horror.



Several Speeches delivered by
His M A J E S T Y to the two Houses
at *Westminster*, and at other places
since the beginning of this
P A R L I A M E N T.

*His Majesties Speech to both Houses at the
first meeting Novemb. 3. 1640.*

My Lords,

THE knowledge I had of the designs of my Scottish Subjects, was the cause of my calling the last Assembly of Parliament, wherein had I been believed, I sincerely think, that things had not fallen out as now we see. But it is no wonder that men are so slow to believe that so great a sedition should be raised on so little ground. But now my Lords, and Gentlemen, the honour and safety of this Kingdom lying so neerly at the stake; I am resolved, to put my self freely and cleerly on the love and affections of my English Subjects, as those of my Lords that did wait on me at *York*, very well remember I there declared. Therefore my Lords, I shall not mention mine own interest, or that support I might justly expect from you, till the common safety be secured: though I must tell you, I am not ashamed to say,

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those charges I have been at, have been meerly for the securing and good of this Kingdom, though the successe hath not been answerable to my desires. Therefore I shall onely desire you to consider the best way both for the safety, and security of this Kingdom, wherein there are two parts chiefly considerable. First, the chasing out of the Rebels. And secondly, that other, in satisfying your just grievances, wherein I shall promise you to concur so heartily and cleerly with you, that all the World may see my intentions have ever been and shall be, to make this a glorious and flourishing Kingdom. There are onely two things more that I shall mention to you: The one is to tell you, that the Loan of money which I lately had from the City of London, wherein the Lords that waited on me at York assisted me, will onely maintain my Army for two moneths from the beginning of that time it was granted. Now my Lords, and Gentlemen, I leave it to your considerations, what dishonour and mischief it might be, in case for want of money my Army be disbanded, before the Rebels be put out of this Kingdom. Secondly, the securing the calamities the Northern people endure at this time, and so long as the Treaty is on foot. And in this I may say not onely they, but all this Kingdom will suffer the harm; therefore I leave this also to your consideration. For the ordering of these great affairs whereof you are to treat at this time, I am so confident of your love to me, and that your care is such for the honour and safety of the Kingdom, that I shall freely and willingly leave to you where to begin: onely this, that you may the better know the estate of all the affairs, I have commanded my Lord Keeper to give you a short and free account of those things that have happened in this interim, with this Protestation; that if his account be not satisfactory as it ought to be, I shall whensoever you desire, give you a full and perfect account of every particular.

particular. One thing more I desire of you, as one of the greatest means to make this a happy Parliament; that you on your parts, as I on mine, lay aside all suspicion one of another, as I promised my Lords at *Tork*; It shall not be my fault if this be not a happy and good Parliament.

His Majesties second Speech to the House of Lords, Novemb. 5. 1640.

My Lords,

I Do expect that you will hastily make relation to the House of Commons, of those great affairs for which I have called you hither at this time, and of the trust I have reposed in them, and how freely I put my self on their love and affections at this time: and that you may know the better how to do so, I shall explain my self concerning one thing I spake the last day. I told you the Rebels must be put out of this Kingdom; tis true, I must needs call them so, so long as they have an Army that do invade us, although I am under treaty with them, and under my great Seal do call them Subjects, and so they are too. But the state of my Affairs in short is this; Its true, I did expect when I did will my Lords and great ones to be at *Tork*, to have given a gracious answer to all your grievances; for I was in good hope by their wisdomes and assistances to have made an end of that businesse: but I must tell you, that my Subjects of *Scotland* did so delay them, that it was not possible to end there: Therefore I can no wayes blame my Lords that were at *Rippon*, that the Treaty was not ended; but must thank them for their pains and industry: and certainly had they as much power as affections, I should by that time have brought these distempers to a happy period; so that now the Treaty is transported from *Rippon* to *London*, where I

shall conclude nothing without your knowledge, and I doubt not but by your approbation: for I do not desire to have this great work done in a corner, for I shall lay open all the steps of this mis-understanding, and the causes of the great differences between Me and my Subjects of *Scotland*. And I doubt not but by your assistance to make them know their duty, and also by your assistance to make them return whether they will or no.

3 *His Majesties Speech to both Houses at the Banqueting-house in White-Hall.*

Jan. 25. 1640.

My Lords,

THe Knights, Citizens, & Burgessees; the principal cause of my coming here at this time, is by reason of the slow proceedings in Parliament, touching which is a great deal of inconvenience.

Therefore I think it very necessary to lay before you the state of my affairs as now they stand, thereby to hasten (not interrupt) your proceedings.

First, I must remember you that there are two Armies in the Kingdom, in a manner maintained by you, the very naming of which, doth more cleerly shew the inconvenience thereof, then a better tongue then mine can expresse.

Therefore in the first place, I shall recommend unto you the quick dispatch of that businesse, assuring you that it cannot rest upon me.

In the next place I must recommend unto you the state of my Navie and Forts; the condition of both which is so well known unto you, that I need not tell you the particulars, onely thus much; they are the walls and defence of this Kingdom, which if out of order, all men may easily judge what encouragement it will be to Our Enemies, and what disheartning to Our Friends.

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Last of all, (and not the least to be considered) I must lay before you the distractions that are at this present occasioned through the connivence of Parliament: for there are some men that more maliciously then ignorantly, will put no difference between Reformation, and alteration of government.

Hence it cometh that Divine Service is irreverently interrupted, and Petitions in an ill way given in, neither disputed nor denied. But I will enter into no more particulars, but shew you a way of remedy, by shewing you my clear intentions, and some Rocks that may hinder this good work.

I shall willingly and cheerfully concur with you for the Reformation of all Innovations both in Church and Common-wealth; and consequently, that all Courts of Justice may be reformed according to Law. For my intention is clearly to reduce all things to the best and purest times as they were in the time of Queen *Elizabeth*.

Moreover, whatsoever part of my Revenue shall be found illegall or heavie to my Subjects, I shall be willing to lay down, trusting in their affections. Having thus clearly and shortly set down my intentions, I will shew you some rubs, and must needs take notice of some very strange (I know not what term to give them) Petitions given in the names of divers Counties, against the established government of the Church, and of the great threatnings against the Bishops, that they will make them to be but Cyphers, or at least, their voices to be taken away.

If some of them have incroached too much upon the Temporalty (if it be so) I shall not be unwilling these things should be redressed and reformed, as all other abuses according to the wisdom of former times; so far I shall go with you, no farther.

If upon serious debate you shall shew that Bishops have some Temporal Authority, not so necessary for the government of the Church, and upholding E-

bishopal Jurisdiction: I shall not be unwilling to desire them to lay it down, but this must not be understood, that I shall any way consent that their voice in Parliament should be taken away: for in all the times of my Predecessours since the Conquest, and before, they have enjoyed it; I am bound to maintain them in it, as one of the fundamental constitutions of this Kingdom.

There is one other Rock you are on, not in substance, but in form; and the form is so essential, that unlesse it be reformed, it will split you on that Rock.

There is a Bill lately put in concerning Parliaments. The thing I like well to have frequent Parliaments, but for the Sheriffs and Constables to use my Authority, I can no wayes consent unto.

But to shew that I desire to give you content in substance as well as in shew, you shall have a Bill for doing thereof, so that it do not trench neither against my Honour, neither against the ancient Prerogatives of the Crown concerning Parliaments. For I ingeniously confesse, often Parliaments is the fittest means to keep correspondency between me and my people, that I do so much desire.

To conclude, now all that I have shewen you, the state of My affairs, My own clear intentions, and the Rocks I would have you shun.

To give you all contentment, you shall likewise finde it by these Ministers, I have, or shall have about me, for the effecting of these my good intentions, which shall redouble the peace of the Kingdom, and content you all. Concerning the Conference, you shall have a direct answer on Monday, which shall give you satisfaction.

His Majesties Speech to both Houses, in Answer to a Remonstrance, about Papists, &c.

Febr. 3. 1640.

HAVING taken into my serious consideration the late Remonstrance made unto me by the House of Parliament, I give you this Answer.

That I take in good part your care of the true Religion established in this Kingdom, from which I will never depart; as also your tenderness of my safety, and the security of this State and Government. It is against my minde, that Popery or Superstition should any way increase within this Kingdom I will refrain the same by causing the Laws to be put in execution.

I am resolved to provide against the Jesuites and Papists, by setting forth a Proclamation with all speed, commanding them to depart the Kingdom within one moneth; of which if they fail, or shall return, then they shall be proceeded against according to the Laws.

Concerning *Resettie*, I give you to understand, that the Queen hath alwayes assured me, that to her knowledge he hath no Commission, but onely to retain a personal correspondence between her and the Pope, in things requisite for the exercise of her Religion, which is warranted to her by the Articles of Marriage, which give her a full liberty of Conscience: Yet I have perswaded her, that since the misunderstanding of that persons condition gives offence, she will within a convenient time remove him.

Moreover, I will take a special care to restrain my Subjects from resorting to Masse at *Denmark house*, *S. James's*, and the Chappels of Ambassadors.

Lastly, concerning *John Goodman* the Priest, I will

Iet you know the reason why I reprieved him, that as I am informed, neither Queen *Elizabeth*, nor my Father did ever avow, that any Priest in their times was executed meerly for Religion, which to me seems to be this particular case: yet seeing that I am pressed by both Houses, to give way to this, because I will avoid the inconveniency of giving so great discontent to my people, as I conceive this Mercy may produce, therefore I do remit this particular case to both the Houses: But I desire them to take into their consideration, the inconveniencies (as I conceive) that may upon this occasion fall upon my Subjects and other Protestants abroad, especially since it may seem to other States to be a severity: which having thus represented, I think my self discharged from all ill consequences that may ensue upon the execution of this person.

His Majesties Speech at the passing of the Bill for Triennial Parliaments. Feb. 15. 1640.

MY Lords, and you the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses of the House of Commons; you may remember when both Houses were with Me at the Banquetting house at *White Hall*, I did declare unto you two Rocks I wished you to eschew, this is the one of them, and of that consequence, that I think never Bill passed here in this House of more favour to the Subjects then this is; and if the other Rock be as happily passed over as this shall be at this time, I do not know what you can ask for ought I can see at this time, that I can make any question to yeeld unto: Therefore I mention this to shew unto you the sense that I have of this Bill, and the Obligation as I may say, that you have to me for it; for hitherto, to speak freely, I had no great encouragement to do it; if I should look to the outward face of your actions or proceedings,

proceedings, and not look to the inward intentions of your hearts, I might make question of doing it.

Hitherto you have gone on in that which concerns your selves to amend, and not in those things that neerly concern the strength of this Kingdom, neither for the State, nor my own particular.

This I mention, not to reproach you, but to shew you the state of things as they are, you have taken the government all in pieces, and I may say, it is almost off the hinges.

A skilful Watchmaker to make clean his Watch, will take it a sunder, and when it is put together, it will go the better, so that he leave forth then not one pin in it.

Now as I have done all this on my part, you know what to do on your parts, and I hope you shall see cleerly that I have performed really what I expressed to you at the beginning of this Parliament, of the great trust I have of your affections to me, and this is the great expression of trust, that before you do any thing for me, that I do put such a confidence in you.

His Majesties Speech to the Lords and Commons in the Banqueting-house at Whitehall, about disbanding the Armies in Ireland and England, &c. April 28. 1641.

MY Lords and Gentlemen, for answer to your desires, I say, ..

First. Concerning the removal of Papists from Court, I am sure you all know what legal trust the Crown hath in this particular: and therefore I need not say any thing to give you assurance that I shall use it so, that there shall be no just cause of scandal.

Secondly. For disarming of Papists, I am very

well content it shall be done according to Law.

Thirdly. For the Irish Army you must understand, I am already upon consultation how to disband it, but I finde many difficulties in it: therefore I hold it not onely fit to wish it, but to shew the way how it may be conveniently done.

This is not all I desire: but since you have mentioned the disbanding of Armies, it is my duty to my Countrey to wish for disbanding of all Armies; and to restore the same peace to all my three Kingdoms, that the King my Father did leave them in: And I conjure you, as you will answer the same to God, and to your Countrey, to joyn with me heartily and speedily for the disbanding of the two Armies in *England*. This is a very good time to speak of it, and there are but two wayes to do it.

One is, to answer their Petitions, and the second is, to provide moneys. You are Masters of the one, and with Me you are the Judges of the other. And you shall not be readier, nor so ready, to bring this to a happy conclusion, as I my self shall be.

His Majesties Speech in the Lords House, before he passed the Bill of Attainder against the Earl of Strafford, May 1. 1641.

My Lords,

I Had no intention to speak of this businesse this day, which is the great businesse concerning my Lord of *Strafford*, because I would do nothing that might serve to hinder your occasions. But now it comes so to passe, that seeing of necessity I must have part in that judgement, I think it most necessary for me to declare my conscience therein.

I am sure you all know, I have been present at the hearing of this businesse from the one end to the o-
other

other. And I must tell you, that in my conscience I cannot condemn him of High Treason.

It is not fit for me to argue this businesse, I am sure you will not expect that, a positive Doctrine best becomes the mouth of a Prince.

Yet I must tell you three truths, which I am sure no body can tell, so well as My Self.

1. That I never had any intention of bringing over the Irish Army, nor ever was advised by any body so to do.

2. There never was any debate before me, either in publick Councel, or private Committee, of the disloyalty of my English Subjects, nor ever had I any suspicion of them.

3. That I never was counselled by any, to alter the least of any of the Laws of *England*, much lesse to alter all the Laws. Nay, I tell you this, I think no body durst ever be so impudent, as to move me to it: For if they had, I should have made them such an example, and put such a mark upon them, that all posterity should know my intentions by it; for my intention was ever to govern by the Law, and no otherwise.

I desire to be rightly understood: for though I tell you in my conscience, I cannot condemn him of High Treason, yet I cannot say I can clear him of misdemeanours. Therefore I hope that you may finde out a way to satisfie Justice, and your own fears, and not to presse my conscience.

My Lords, I hope you know what a tender thing Conscience is: and I must declare unto you, that to satisfie the people, I would do great matters; but in this of conscience, neither fear, nor any other respect whatsoever, shall ever make me go against it.

*His Majesties Speech to both Houses at the
passing of the Bill of Tonnage and
Poundage, June 22. 1641.*

I Do very willingly accept your offer made at this time, as a testimony of your love, and beginning of yur dutiful affections unto me : and I no way doubt, but that you will perform that which you have intimated unto me, and that in due time you will perform the rest, when you have leisure.

I do not doubt likewise, but that in passing this Bill you will see a testimony of the trust and confidence I have in your affections ; as also that I omit no occasion whereby I may shew that affection to my people, that I desire my people would shew to me, as in this Parliament hitherto no body can say but that I have sought occasions both to shew my affections unto them, and to remove disputes.

And therefore in this particular Bill I hope you will know that I do freely and frankly give over the right which my Predecessours have ever challenged unto them (though I confesse disputed, but yet they did never yeeld in their times ;) Therefore you will understand this but a mark of my confidence to put my Self wholly upon the love and affection of my people for my subsistence : And therefore I hope that in prosecution of this, you will go on as you have said ; and that though you have rumours of jealousies and suspitions, by flying and idle discourses, that have come to my ears, concerning the extraordinary way, I confesse I never understood it otherwise then as having relation to the Scottish Army, and preventing insurrection, which vanished as soon as they were born.

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And therefore now you see my cleareness, I leave that to you, and will not meddle with it one way or other, for I never had other designe, but to win the affections of my people by my justice in my Government.

His Majesties Speech to both Houses at the passing of the Bills, for the taking away the High-Commission and Star-Chamber, and regulating the Councel Table.

July 5. 1641.

I Come to do the office w^h I forbore to do on Saturday last, to give determination to these two Bills: But before I do it, I must tell you, that I cannot but be very sensible of those reports, of discontent that I hear some have taken for not giving my consent on Saturday. Me thinks it seems strange, that any one should think, I could passe two Bills of that importance as these were, without taking some fit time to consider of them; for it is no lesse then to alter, in a great measure, those Fundamental Laws, Ecclesiastical and Civil, which many of my Predecessours have established.

If you consider what I have done this Parliament, discontent will not sit in your hearts, for I hope you remember that I have granted, That the Judges hereafter shall hold their places, *quam diu se bene gesserint*, I have bounded the Forrests, not according to my right, but according to late Customes.

I have established the property of the Subjects, witness the free giving, not taking away the Ship-money.

I have established by Act of Parliament, the property of the Subject in Tonnage & Poundage, which never was done in any my Predecessours times: I have granted

granted a Law for Triennial Parliaments, and given way to an Act for the securing of moneyes advanced for the disbanding of the Armies; I have given free course of justice against Delinquents; I have put the Law in execution against Papists.

Nay, I have given way to every thing that you have asked of me, and therefore me thinks you should not wonder, if in some things I begin to refuse. But I hope it shall not hinder your progresse in your great affairs, and I will not stick upon trivial matters, to give you content; I hope you are sensible of these beneficial favours bestowed on you at this time.

To conclude. You know that by your consent, there is a prefixed time set for my going into *Scotland*, and there is an absolute necessity for it, I do not know but that things may so fall out, that it may be shortened; therefore I hope you will hasten the dispatching of those great busineses that now are necessary to be done, and leave trivial and superficial matters to an other meeting.

For my part I shall omit nothing that may give you just contentment, and study nothing more then your happinesse, and thereof I hope you shall see a very good Testimony by passing these two Bills.

Le Roy le veult.

This being done, his Majesty said, as followeth.

I have one word more to speak unto you, and I take now an occasion to present it unto both Houses, that thereby I hope all the World shall see, that there is a good understanding between me and my people.

It is concerning my Nephew the Prince Elector *Palatine*, who having desired me & the King of *Denmark* to give way to a writing concerning the Dyet at *Ratisbone* with the Emperour, I could not but send my Ambassadour to assist him, though I am afraid I shall not have so good an answer as I expect, which my Nephew foreseeing hath desired me, for the better countenance of the same, to make a *Manifesto* in
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My Name, which is a thing of great consequence And if I should do it alone, without the advice of a Parliament, it would rather be a scorn, then otherwise: Therefore I do propose it unto you, that you will advise me to it, I think it were very fit to be published in my Name.

His Majesties Speech to the Scotch Parliament at Edinbrough, Aug. 19. 1641.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THere hath nothing been so displeasing to me as those unlucky differences, which have hapned between me and my people, and nothing that I have more desired, then to see this day wherein I hope not onely to settle these unhappy mistakings, but rightly to know and to be known of my native Countrey. I need not tell you (for I think it is well known to most) what difficulties I have passed through, and overcome, to be here at this present: yet this will I say, if love to my native Countrey had not been a chief motive to this journey, other respects might easily have found a shift to do that by a Commission which I am come to perform my self; and (this considered) I cannot doubt of such real testimonies of your affections for the maintenance of that Royal power which I enjoy after 108 descents, and which you have so often professed to maintain, and to which your own National Oath doth oblige you, that I shall not think any pains ill bestowed. Now the end of my coming is shortly this, to perfect whatsoever I have promised, and withall to quiet the distractions which have and may fall out amongst you: And this I minde not superficially but fully and cheerfully to perform: For I assure you that I can do nothing with more cheerfulness then to give my people a general satisfaction: wherefore not offering to endear my self unto you in words (which indeed is not my way)

His MAJESTIES Speeches.

fire in the first place to settle that which concerns Religion and just liberties of this my native Country before I proceed to any other Act.

His Majesties Speech to both Houses, after his return from Scotland. Decemb. 2. 1641.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I Think it fit, after so long absence, at this first occasion, to speak a few words unto you, but it is no wayes in answer to Mr. Speakers learned Speech: Albeit I have staid longer then I expected to have done when I went away, yet in this I have kept my promise with you, that I have made all the haste back again, that the settling of my *Scotch* Affairs could any wayes permit, in which I have had so good successe, that I will confidently affirm to you, that I have left that Nation a most peaceable and contented People; So that although I have a little misreckoned in time, yet I was not deceived in my end.

But if I have deceived your expectations a little in the time of my return, yet I am assured that my expectation is as much and more deceived in the condition wherein I hoped to have found some businesses at my return. For since that before my going I settled the Liberties of my Subjects, and gave the Laws a free and orderly course, I expected to have found my people reaping the fruits of these benefits, by living in quietnesse, and satisfaction of minde: But instead of this, I finde them disturbed with jealousies, Frights, and Alarms of dangerous Designes and Plots; in consequence of which, Guards have been set to defend both Houses. I say not this as in doubt that my Subjects affections are any way lesned to me in this time of my absence, for I cannot but remember, to my great comfort, the joyful reception I had now at my entry into *London*, but rather as I hope
that

that my presence will easily disperse these fears. For I bring as perfect and true affections to My people as ever Prince did, or as good Subjects can possibly desire. And I am so far from repenting Me of any Act I have done this Session for the good of My people, that I protest if it were to do again I would do it, and will yet grant what else can be justly desired for satisfaction in point of Liberties, or in maintenance of the true Religion that is here established.

Now I have but one particular to recommend unto you at this time, It is *Ireland*, for which though I doubt not your care, yet Me thinks the preparations for it go but slowly on. The occasion is the fitter for Me now to mention it, because of the Arrival of two Lords from *Scotland*, who come instructed from my Council there (who now by Act of Parliament have full power for that purpose) to answer that Demand which it pleased both Houses to make of me by way of Petition, that met me at *Barwick*, and which the Duke of *Richmond* sent back by my command to my *Scotch-Council*: Therefore my desire is, That both Houses would appoint a select Committee, to end this businesse with these Noblemen. I must conclude in telling you, that I seek my peoples happinesse, for their flourishing is my greatest glory, and their affections my greatest strength.

His Majesties Speech to both Houses about Ireland, and the Bill for pressing Souldiers. Dec. 14. 1641.

My Lords and Gentlemen.

THE last time that I was in this place, and the last thing that I recommended unto you, was the businesse of *Ireland*, whereby I was in good hope that I should not have needed again to have put you in minde of that businesse; But still seeing the slow proceedings therein, and the daily Dispatches that I have out of *Ireland* of the lamentable estate of My Protestant Subjects there, I cannot but again

again earnestly recommend the dispatch of that Expedition unto you, for it is the chief businesse that at this time I take to heart, and there cannot (almost) be any businesse that I can have more care of. I might now take up some of your time in expressing my detestation of Rebellions in general, and of this in particular: But knowing that Deeds and not Declarations must suppress this great insolency, I do here in a word offer you whatsoever my power, pains, or industry can contribute to this good and necessary work of reducing the Irish Nation to their true and wonted obedience.

And that nothing may be omitted on my part; I must here take notice of the Bill for pressing of Soldiers now depending among you my Lords, concerning which I here declare, That in case it come so to Me, as it may not infringe or diminish my Prerogative, I will passe it: And further, seeing there is a dispute raised (I being little beholding to him who-soever at this time began it) concerning the bounds of this ancient and undoubted Prerogative, to avoid further debate at this time, I offer, that the Bill may passe with a *salvo jure*, both for King and people, leaving such debates to a time that may better bear it. If this be not accepted, the fault is not mine that this Bill passe not, but those that refuse so fair an offer.

To conclude, I conjure you by all that is, or can be dear to you or me, that laying away all Disputes, you go on cheerfully and speedily for the reducing of Ireland.

His Majesties Speech in the House of Commons. about the five Members, Jan. 4. 1641.

Gentlemen,

I Am sorry for this occasion of comming unto you : yesterday I sent a Serjeant at Armes upon a very important occasion, to apprehend some that by my command were accused of High Treason, whereunto I did expect Obedience, and not a Message. And I must declare unto you here, that albeit no King that ever was in *England* shall be more careful of your Priviledges, to maintain them to the uttermost of his power then I shall be; yet you must know, that in cases of Treason, no person hath a priviledge, and therefore I am come to know if any of those persons that were accused are here; for I must tell you, Gentlemen, that so long as these persons that I have accused (for no slight crime, but for Treason) are here, I cannot expect that this House can be in the right way that I do heartily wish it: Therefore I am come to tell you, that I must have them wheresoever I finde them: Well, sithence I see all the Birds are flown, I do expect from you, that you shall send them unto me, as soon as they return hither: But I assure you, in the word of a King, I never did intend any force, but shall proceed against them in a legal and fair way, for I never meant any other.

And now sithence I see I cannot do what I came for, I think this no unfit occasion to repeat what I have said formerly; That whatsoever I have done in favour, and to the good of my Subjects, I do mean to maintain it.

I will trouble you no more, but tell you, I do expect as soon as they come to the House, you will send them to me, otherwise I must take my own course to finde them.

His

*His Majelties Speech at Guild Hall, about
the five Members, Jan. 5. 1641.*

Gentlemen,

I Am come to demand such prisoners as *I* have already attainted of High Treason, and do believe they are shrouded in the City, *I* hope no good man will keep them from Me, their offences are Treason and misdemeanours of an high nature, *I* desire your loving assistance herein, that they may be brought to a legall trial.

And whereas there are divers suspicions raised, that *I* am a favourer of the Popish Religion, *I* do professe in the name of a King, that *I* did and ever will, and that to the utmost of My power, be a prosecutor of all such as shall any way oppose the Laws and Statutes of this Kingdom, either Papist or Separatist, and not onely so, but *I* will maintain and defend that true Protestant Religion which my Father did professe: and *I* will still continue in, during life.

His

*His Majesties Speech at Theobalds, at the
delivery of the Petition for the Militia.*

March 1. 1641.

I Am so much amazed at this Message, that *I* know not what to Answer: You speak of Jealousies and Fears: Lay your hands to your hearts, and ask yourselves whether *I* may not likewise be disturbed with Fears and Jealousies: And if so, *I* assure you this Message hath nothing lessened them.

For the *Militia*, *I* thought so much of it before *I* sent that Answer, and am so much assured that the Answer is agreeable to what in justice or reason you can ask, or *I* in Honour grant, that *I* shall not alter it in any point.

For My Residence near you, *I* wish it might be so safe and honourable, that *I* had no cause to absent my Self from *White Hall*; Ask yourselves whether *I* have not?

For my Son, *I* shall take that care of him, which shall justifie Me to God as a Father, and to My Dominions as a King.

To conclude, *I* assure you upon my Honour, that *I* have no thought but of peace and justice to my people, which *I* shall by all fair means seek to preserve and maintain, relying upon the goodnesse and providence of God, for the preservation of My Self and Rights.

His

His Majesties Speech at Newmarket to the Earl of Holland, Pembroke, and the rest of the Committee that presented the Declaration, March 9. 1641.

I Am confident that you expect not I should give you a speedy Answer to this strange and unexpected Declaration: And I am sorry (in the distractions of this Kingdom) you should think this way of Adresse to be more convenient, then that proposed by my Message of the 20 of January last to both Houses.

As concerning the grounds of your Fears and Jealousies, I will take time to answer particularly, and doubt not but I shall do it to the satisfaction of all the World. God, in his good time, will, I hope, discover the secrets and bottoms of all Plots and Treasons, and then I shall stand right in the eyes of all my people. In the mean-time, I must tell you, That I rather expected a Vindication for the Imputation laid on me in Master *Pims* Speech, then that any more general Rumours and Discourses should get credit with you.

For my Fears and Doubts, I did not think they should have been thought so groundlesse or trivial, while so many Seditious Pamphlets and Sermons are looked upon, and so great Tumults are remembred, unpunished, uninquired into: I still confesse my Fears, and call God to witnesse, That they are greater for the true Protestant profession, my People, and Laws, then for my own Rights or safety: though I must tell you, I conceive that none of these are free from danger.

What would you have? Have I violated your Laws, Have I denied to passe any one Bill for the ease and security of my Subjects? I do not ask you what you have done for Me.

Have

Have any of my people been transported with Fears and Apprehensions? I have offered as free and general a Pardon, as your selves can devise. All this considered, There is a judgement from Heaven upon this Nation if these Distractions continue.

God so deal with Me and mine, as all my thoughts and intentions are upright for the maintenance of the true Protestant Profession, and for the Observation, and preservation of the Laws of this Land: And, I hope, God will blesse and assist those Laws for my preservation.

As for the Additional Declaration, you are to expect an Answer to it when you shall receive the Answer to the Declaration it self.

*Some Passages that hapned the 9th of March,
between the Kings Majesty and the Com-
mittee of both Houses, when the De-
claration was Delivered.*

When His Majesty heard that part of the Declaration which mentioned Master *Jermine* Transportation, his Majesty interrupted the Earl of *Holland* in reading, and said, That's false. Which being afterwards toucht upon again, His Majesty then said, 'Tis a lye. And when he was informed, it related not to the Date, but the execution of the Warrant, His Majesty said, it might have been better expressed then, and that it was a high thing to tax a King with breach of promise. As for this Declaration His Majesty said, I could not have beleev'd the Parliament would have sent Me such an one, if I had not seen it brought by such persons of honour. I am sorry for the Parliament, but glad I have it. For by that I doubt not to satisfie My people; though I am confident, the greater part is so already.

Ye

Ye speak of ill Counsels, but I am confident the Parliament hath had worse informations then I have had Counsels, His Majestie asking what he had denied the Parliament, the Earl of *Holland* instanced that of the *Militia*, his Majesty replied, that was no Bill: the Earl of *Holland* then said, it was a necessary request at this time, and His Majesty also then said, he had not denied it.

What passed the next day, when His Majesty delivered His Answer.

Which was read by the Earl of *Holland* to the rest of the Committee. And that being done, His Lordship endeavored to perswade His Majesty to come near the Parliament. Whereunto His Majesty answered, I would you had given me cause, but I am sure this Declaration is not the way to it. And in all *Aristotles Rhetoricks* there is no such Argument of perswasion. The Earl of *Pembroke*, thereupon telling him that the Parliament had humbly besought His Majesty to come near them, as aforesaid, His Majesty replied, He had learnt by our Declaration that words were not sufficient. His Majesty being then again moved by the said Earl of *Pembroke* to expresse what he would have: said, He would whip a Boy in *Westminster* School that could not tell that by His Answer. And further said, They were much mistaken, if they thought His Answer of that, a denial. And being also asked by the said Earl of *Pembroke*, Whether the *Militia* might not be granted, as was desired by the Parliament, for a time: His Majesty answered, not for an hour; you have askt that of Me in this, was never askt of a King, and with which I will not trust My Wife and Children.

His

His Majesty said, The businesse of Ireland will never be done in the way that you are in, Four hundred will never do that work. It must be put into the hands of one. If I were trusted with it, I will pawn my head to end that work. And though I am a Beggar my Self, yet (speaking with a strong asseveration) I can finde money for that.

His Majesties Speech to the Sheriffe, Ministers, Gentry, &c. of York shire, When they presented their Petition, April 5. 1642.

Master Sheriffe, and Gentlemen,

I Believe you expect not a present and particular answer to your Petition, because it is new to me : Onely in generall I must tell you, That I see by it, that I am not-deceived in the Confidence I have in the affections of this County to my person & State; and I assure you that I will not deceive your confidence, which at this time you have declared in your petition to have in me : And I am glad to see that it is not upon mistaken grounds, as other petitions have been to me since I came to this place : Concerning which, let Me observe unto you, That my Answers were to clear those mistakings; for I never did go about to punish or discourage them from petitioning to Me in an humble way, though the Subject did not agree with my sense ; Albeit within the memory of man, people have been discouraged, and threatned to be punished for petitions.

I observe that your petition is so modest, that it doth not mention any particular for your own good; which indeed I expected, as knowing that in some particulars you have great reason to do: and there-

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fore that you may not fare the worse for your modesty, *I* will put you in minde of three particulars, which *I* conceive to be for the good of this Country.

The first is concerning your trained Bands, to reduce them to a lesser number, for which, *I* confesse to stand ingaged by promise to you, which *I* had performed long since, if *I* had been put in minde of it: And now *I* tell you, shew Me but the way, and (when you shall think fit) *I* shall instantly reduce them to that number, which *I* promised you two years ago.

The second is, That which is owing to this Country for Billet-money; the truth is, that for the present *I* cannot repay it: Onely *I* will say this, That if all the water had gone to the right Mill, (upon my word) you had been long ago satisfied in this particular. And so *I* leave to your discretions which way you will advise, and assise Me to comply with the engagements to you in this point.

The third is, That for which *I* was petitioned as *I* came up the last year, both by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of this City, and likewise by divers others of this County, as *I* went Southward; And that is concerning the Court of *York*: And first let Me tell you, that as yet *I* know no legal dissolution of it, for hitherto formally, there is nothing come to Me, either directly or indirectly, for the taking of it away: therefore *I* may say, it is rather shaken in pieces, then dissolved. Now My desire is in compliance to what *I* answered the last year unto the several petitions delivered to Me upon this Subject, That you would consult and agree among your selves in what manner you would have the Court established most to your own contentments, and to the good of all these Northern parts, in such a legal way, as that it may not justly be excepted against, and *I* assure you in the word of an honest Man, that you shall not blame Me, if you have not full satisfaction in it.

Within a day or two ye shall have a particular Answer

swer to your petition, which shall be such an one as I am confident will give you good satisfaction, and put you into such a way, as, I hope, may produce good effects to the good of all this Kingdom.

*His Majesties Speech to the Gentry of York-
shire attending His Majesty at York.*

May 12. 1641.

Gentlemen,

I Have cause of adding, not altering, what I meant to say, when I gave out the Summons for this dayes appearance, I little thought of these Messengers, or of such a Message as they brought, the which because it confirms Me in what I intend to speak, and that I desire you should be truly informed of all passages between Me and the Parliament, you shall here read. First, my Answer to the Declaration of both Houses concerning *Hull*, the Answer of the Parliament to My two Messages concerning *Hull*, together with My Reply to the same, and My Message to both Houses, declaring the Reasons why I refused to passe the Bill concerning the *Militia*.

All which being read his Majesty proceeded.

I Will make no Paraphrases upon what ye have heard, it more befitting a Lawyer then a King, only this Observation, since Treason is countenanced so near Me, it is time to look to My safety : I avow, it was part of My wonder, that Men (whom I thought heretofore discreet, and moderate) should have undertaken this imployment, and that since they came (I having delivered them the Answer you have heard, and commanded them to return personally with it to the Parliament) should have flatly disobeyed Me upon pretence of the Parliaments command. My end in telling you this, is to warn you of them ; for since

these Men have brought Me such a Message, and disobeyed so lawful a Command; I will not say what their intent of staying here is, onely I bid you take heed, not knowing what Doctrine of Disobedience they may preach to you, under colour of obeying the Parliament. Hitherto I have found and kept you quiet, the enjoying of which was a chief cause of My coming hither (Turbults and Disorders having made Me leave the South) and not to make this a seat of War, as Malice would (but I hope in vain) make you believe: Now if disturbances come, I know whom I have reason to suspect.

To be short, you see that my Magazine is going to be taken from me (being my own proper goods) directly against my will; the *Militia* (against Law and my consent) is going to be put in execution. And lastly, Sir *John Hothams* Treason is countenanced: All this considered, none can blame me to apprehend dangers. Therefore I have thought fit (upon these real grounds) to tell you, that I am resolved to have a Guard (the Parliament having had one all this while upon imaginary jealousies,) onely to secure my person. In which I desire your concurrence and assistance, and that I may be able to protect you, the Laws, and the true Protestant profession from any affront or injury that may be offered, which I mean to maintain my Self without charge to the Countrey, intending not longer to keep them on foot, then I shall be secured of my just Apprehensions by having satisfaction in the particulars before mentioned.

His Majesties Speech to the Knights, Gentlemen, and Freeholders, of the County of Nottingham, at Newark, July 4.

1642.

Gentlemen,

YOUR honest Resolutions and Affections to Me and your Countrey, for the defence of My Person, and the Laws of the Land, have been, and are so notable, that they have drawn Me hither onely to thank you: I go to other places to confirm and undeceive my Subjects, but am come hither onely to thank and encourage you: You have made the best judgement of happinesse, by relying on that foundation, which the experience of so many hundred years hath given such proof of, The assurance and security of the Law: and assure your selves when Laws shall be altered by any other Authority, then that by w^{ch} they were made, your foundations are destroyed: And though it seems at first but to take away My power, it will quickly swallow all your interest: I ask nothing of you (though your demeanour gives Me good evidence that you are not willing to deny) but to preserve your own affections to the Religion and Lawes established; I will justifie and protect those affections, and will live and die with you in that quarrel.

His

His Majesties Speech to the Knights, Gentlemen, and Freeholders of the County of Lincoln, at Lincoln. July 15. 1642.

Gentlemen,

IF I could have suspected your affections, or have censured the duty of this County by some late Actions in it, I should not have taken this pains, to have given you a testimony of My affection to you, and to remove those Objections which being raised by a Malignant party, may, by their cunning and industry, get credit even with honest mindes. The truth is, I come to you, to assure you of My purposes and resolutions, for the defence of what ever is and should be dear unto you, your Religion, your Libertie, your Common interest, and the Law of the Land: and to undeceive you of that opinion, which I hear hath misled many of you, that the pretended Ordinance of the *Militia* is warranted by My Consent and Authority. As I have already informed you, by My several Declarations and Messages, that the same is against the known Law, and an invasion of My unquestionable Right, and of your Liberty and property, so I do now declare unto you, that the same is imposed upon you against My Expresse Consent, and in contempt of My Regal Authority: And therefore whosoever shall henceforth presume to Execute or Obey the same, I shall proceed against them, as against such who promote Rebellion, and actually leavie war against Me: And I doubt not, but you will sadly consider, That if any Authority without and against My Consent may lawfully impose such burthens upon you, it may likewise take away all that you have from you, and subject you to their lawlesse Arbitrary power and Government: And how far they are like to exercise that jurisdiction towards you, you may guesse
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by the insolence of Sir *John Hotham* at *Hull*, who (being a Subject) not onely presumes to keep his Sovereign, by force of Arms, out of His Town, but murders his fellow Subjects, imprisons them,, burns their Houses, drowns their Land, takes them Captive, and commits such Outrages and acts of Hostility, as the most unequal and outrageous Enemies practise in any Countrey; That you may see how impossible it is for your Liberties and Properties to be preserved, when your King is Oppressed, and His just Rights taken from Him. Who hath brought these Calamities upon your Neighbours at *Hull*, every Man sees; and they onely can bring the same upon you. I will not believe you to be so insensible of the benefits you have received from Me, that I need put you in minde of the Gracious Acts passed by Me this Parliament on your behalfs: And if there be any thing wanting to the making you the happiest Subjects in the World, I am sure it is not My fault, that you have not that too. Be not deceived with words and general expressions; it is not in your power to name one particular, which might make you happy, that I have refused to Grant: Be not frightened with Apprehensions, That this Countrey is like to be the seat of a War; the seat of a War will be onely where persons rise in Rebellion against Me; that will not, I hope, be here, and then you shall be sure of My protection. I will live and dye in your defence. And that you may be in a readinesse, and a posture to defend your selves and Me against any Invasion or Rebellion, I have armed severall persons of Honour, Quality, and Reputation amongst you, and of your own Countrey, with a Commission of Array to that purpose. There is no honest end declared in that Ordinance, which is not provided for by this Commission, which being according to the old known Law, is fit for your Obedience, and I doubt not but you will finde it.

In a word, I assure you, upon the Faith and Honour

of a Christian King, I will be alwayes as tender of any thing which may advance the true Protestant Religion, protect and preserve the Laws of the Land, and defend the just priviledge and freedom of Parliament, as of my Life, or my Crown : and when I fail in either of these, I will not look for your assistance ; till then you are concerned not to see Me suffer.

His Majesties Speech to the Gentlemen, Freeholders, and Inhabitants of Leicester, at Leicester, July 20. 1642.

Gentlemen,

SINCE I have found My presence so very acceptable amongst My good Subjects in these Northern parts, and that the Errours and Mistakes amongst them, have wholly proceeded from mis-information, and are removed with more satisfaction and ease to them then they were received ; I hold it a piece of My duty, to take the utmost pains I can, fully to inform and undeceive My people ; and rather to prevent Crimes, then to punish them : In this Errand I am come to you, amongst whom there hath not been the least misunderstanding, to shew you, That I do not suspect any malice in the place, or in the people, though persons of as ill dispositions have been busie in it, and amongst you, as in any County in *England*, and such who have taken as great pains to do mischief, and to bring Confusion, as good men should for peace and happinesse : Though tis as true that very many worthier persons amongst you have appeared of contrary affections, which I shall alwayes acknowledge : I am come to you in a time too, when nothing could invite Me to such a journey,

but

but my affection to, and good esteem of you; having sent such propositions, of peace & accommodation to my two Houses of Parliament, that I hope to have no other use of your affections, but in your prayers; being sure they will submit to them with alacrity, if the unexcusable Enemies to the peace of the Kingdom be not strong enough to prevail: And then you will finde your selves so much concerned (for I have required nothing that with more justice can be denied Me (if it be duly weighed) then my Crown, or my Life may be taken from me) that I shall not need to ask your assistance: I know you will bring Horse, Men, Money, and Hearts worthy such a Cause. Your Religion, your Liberties, your Laws (which I will defend with my life, I mean the good known Laws of the Land, not Ordinances without my consent, which till within these twelve moneths was never heard of from the foundation of this Kingdom) will be the Quarrel: And in such a cause, the taking away my Towns, Ships, Armies, and Money from Me, shall not dishearten Me: the concurrence and affection of My people with Gods blessing will supply and recover all.

*His Majesties Speech to the Gentlemen of
Yorkshire, August 4. 1642.*

Gentlemen,

WHen I directed that summons should be sent out for your meeting here this day, My principall end was, That I might give you thanks for the great forwardnesse and expressions you have made of your affections to Me since I came into this Countrey, and to assure you, That as the whole Kingdom hath great reason to value you exceedingly for it, so I shall be very unsatisfied with my Self, till I have found some way to fix a mark of favour, and

estimation upon this County, and this people, which may tell posterity, how good Subjects you have been, and how much Gentlemen; and I am confident the memory of it will grow up with my Sons too, in a just acknowledgement. This was the most I intended to say to you, but there is an unquiet spirit abroad, which every day throws in new accidents to disturb, and confound the publick peace. How I was driven from *London*, when I chose this place for My safety, is so notorious, that all Men know it, who know any thing; with what strange violence, and indignities I have been pursued, since I came hither, needs no other Evidence, then Sir *John Hothams* behaviour at *Hull*, who is now arrived to that insolence, That he will not suffer his Treason to be longer confined within those walls, but makes sallies out of the Town upon his fellow Subjects, drowns their Land, burns and plunders their Houses, murders, and with unheard of cruelty, torments their persons; And this with so much delight, That he would not have the patience to wait what Answer should be sent to My just Demands, though in that respect I engaged My Self, to forbear to use any force, and kept my word; but chose the night before that came, (as if he knew well what Answer I was to receive) to act those Outrages.

Yet see the sad effects of Fears and Jealousies, the miseries they have produced; No Man can tell you the least good they have brought forth, or the least evil they have prevented: What inconvenience and burthen My presence hath been here, what disturbance it hath brought upon the publick, or grievance upon any private person, your selves are best Judges: And whatever scandal some men have pleased to cast upon the Cavaliers (which they intend should reach all my Retinew, and by degrees shall involve all Gentlemen) I am confident, there hath not been any eminent disorder or dammage befallen any Man, by
any.

any person of my Train, or under my protection.

I am sure my directions have been very strict in that point, and if they had not been observed, I think I should have heard of it by nearer complaints, then from *London*; I pray God the same care may be taken there: I am sure it hath not been. And to give you the fullest testimony of My affection to you, and to the peace of this County, and to shew you that no provocation shall provoke Me to make this place to be the seat of the War, I have for your sakes, passed over the considerations of Honour, and notwithstanding the reproaches every day laid on Me, laid no siege to that place, that they may not have the least pretence of doing you mischief, but resolve by Gods help to recover *Hull* some other way, for that I will ever sit down under so bold and unexcusable a treason no honest man can imagin. But it seems other men are not of my minde, but resolve to make a War at your own doors, whatsoever you do, or I suffer. To what purpose else is their new General armed with an authority, to kill and destroy all my good Subjects; their levies of Horse and Foot, some whereof are upon their march towards you, with Cannon mounted, and the sending so many new souldiers into *Hull*, when there is no approach made towards it, but to fall out, and to commit Rapine, and by degrees to pour out an Army upon you: In this I must ask your advice, what you would do for your selves, and what you would have Me do for you: you see how I am stript of my Navy at Sea, which is imployed against me, of my Forts and Towns at Land, which are filled with armed men to destroy me, my money and provisions of my House taken from me, and all my subjects forbid and threatned if they come near me, that I may by Famine or Solitarinesse be compelled to yeeld to the most dishonourable Propositions, and to put my Self and Children into the hands of a few Malignant persons, who have entred into a Combination

tion to destroy Us : And all this done under pretence of a trust reposed by the people. How far you are from committing any such trust, most of the persons trusted by you, and your own expressions of duty to me, hath manifested to all the World, and how far the whole Kingdom is from avowing such a trust, hath already in a great measure, and I doubt not will more every day appear, by the professions of every County: for I am wholly cast upon the affections of my people, and have no hope but in the blessing and assistance of God, the justnesse of my cause, and the love of my Subjects, to recover what is taken from me and them, for I may justly say, they are equal losers with Me.

Gentlemen, I desire you to consider what course is to be taken for your own security from the excursions from *Hull*, and the violence which threatens you from thence: I will assist you any way you propose. Next I desire you, out of the publick provision, or your private store, to furnish me with such a number of Arms (Musquets and Corslets) as you may conveniently spare, which I do promise to see fully repaid to you: These Arms I desire may be speedily delivered to the custody of my Lord Mayor of *York*, for my use principally for those parts, which by reason of their distance from *Hull* are least subject to the fear of violence from thence.

And whosoever shall so furnish me, shall be excused from their attendance and service at musters, till their Arms shall be restored; which may well be sooner then I can promise, or you expect. I desire nothing of you but what is necessary to be done for the preservation of Gods true Religion, the Laws of the Land, the Liberty of the Subject, and the very being of this Kingdom of *England*; for tis too evident all these are at stake.

For the compleating my Sons Regiment for the guard of his person under the command of my L. of *Cumberland*,

Cumberland, I refer it wholly to your selves, who have expressed such forwardnesse in it.

*His Majesties Speech and Protestation in the
Head of His Army, between Stafford and
Wellington, after the reading of His Or-
ders, Septemb. 19. 1642.*

Gentlemen,

YOU have heard these Orders read; It is your part in your severall places to observe them exactly: The time cannot be long before We come to Action, therefore you have the more reason to be careful: And I must tell you, I shall be very severe in the punishing of those, of what condition soever, who transgresse these instructions. I cannot suspect your Courage and Resolution; your Conscience and your Loyalty hath brought you hither to fight for your Religion, your King, and the Laws of the Land; you shall meet with no Enemies, but Traitors, most of them Brownists, Anabaptists, and Atheists, such who desire to destroy both Church and State, and who have already condemned you to ruine for being Loyal to Us. That you may see what use I mean to make of your valour, if it please God to blesse it with successe, I have thought fit to publish my Resolution to you in a Protestation, which when you have heard Me make, you will believe you cannot fight in a better Quarrel, in which I promise to live and dye with you.

His

His Majesties Protestation.

I Do promise in the presence of Almighty GOD, and as I hope for his blessing and protection, that I will to the utmost of my power defend and maintain *The true Reformed Protestant Religion, established in the Church of England*; And by the Grace of God in the same will live and dye.

I desire to govern by the *known Laws of the Land*, and that *the Liberty and property of the Subject* may be by them preserved with the same care as my own just Rights. And if it please God, by his blessing upon this Army raised for my necessary Defence, to preserve me from this Rebellion: I do solemnly and faithfully promise in the sight of God, to maintain *the just priviledges and freedom of Parliament*, and to govern by the *known Laws of the Land* to my utmost power, and particularly to observe inviolably *the Laws consented to by Me this Parliament*. In the mean while, if this time of War, and the great necessity and straits I am now driven to, beget any violation of those, I hope it shall be imputed by God and Man to the Authors of this War, and not to Me, who have so earnestly laboured for the preservation of *the peace of this Kingdom*.

When I willingly fail in these particulars, I will expect no aid or relief from any Man, or protection from Heaven: But in this resolution I hope for the cheerful assistance of all good men, and am confident of GODS blessing.

His

*His Majesties Speech to the Inhabitants of
Denby and Flint at Wrexham,
Septemb. 27. 1642.*

Gentlemen,

I Am willing to take all occasions to visit all my good Subjects, in which number I have cause to reckon you of these two Counties, and having lately had a good expreſſion of your loyalty and affections to me by those Levies which at your charge have been sent me from your parts (which forwardnesse of yours, I shall alwayes remember to your advantage) and to let you know how I have been dealt with by a powerful Malignant party in this Kingdom, whose designs are no lesse then to destroy my Person and Crown, the Laws of the Land, and the present Government both of Church and State. The Leaders of these men by their subtilty & cunning practises have so prevailed upon the meaner sort of people about *London*, that they have called them up into frequent and dangerous Tumults, and thereby have chased from thence My Self, and the greatest part of the Members of both Houses of Parliament; their power and secret plots have had such influence upon the small remaining part of both Houses, that under colour of Orders and Ordinances made without the Royal assent (a thing never heard of before this Parliament) I am rob'd and spoiled of my Towns, Forts, Castles, and Goods, my Navy forcibly taken from Me, and imployed against me, all my Revenue is stoppt and seized upon, and at this time a powerful Army is marching against Me. I wish this were all; They have yet further laboured to alienate the affections of my good people, they have most injuriously vented many false reproaches against my Person and Government,

Government, they have dispersed in print many notorious false scandals upon my actions and intentions, and in particular have laboured to cast upon me some aspersions concerning the horrid, bloody, and impious Rebellion in *Ireland*. They tell the people that I have recalled two ships appointed for the guard of these Seas, tis true: but they conceal, that at the same time I sent my Warrants to the *Downs*, commanding four as good ships to attend that service in stead of those should be recalled, which Warrant by their means could not finde obedience. They forget that that they then imployed forty ships (many of them my own, and all of them set forth at the publick charge of this and that Kingdom,) to rob and pillage me of my goods, to chase my good Subjects, and maintain my own Town of *Hull* against me. And that by the absence of those ships from the *Irish* Seas, the Rebels have had opportunity to bring store of Arms, Ammunition, and supplies to their succours (to which we may justly impute the calamities, which have overwhelmed my poor Protestant Subjects there.) They cry out upon a few suits of clothes appointed (as they say) for *Ireland*, which some of my forces took, but conceal that they were taken as entering into *Coventry* (then in open rebellion against me) where I had reason to believe they would have been disposed of amongst their souldiers who then bore arms against me: they talk of a few horses which I have made use of for my carriages (concealing that they were certified to be uselesse for the service of *Ireland*) when they themselves have seized 100000 pounds particularly appointed by Act of Parliament for the relief of *Ireland* (where my Army is ready to perish for want of it) and imployed it (together with such part of the 400000 l. subsidy as they have received) to maintain an unnatural Civil War at home. Neither have they used their fellow Subjects better then they have done me their King. By their power
the

the Law of the Land (your birth-right) is trampled upon, and instead thereof they govern My people by Votes, and arbitrary Orders. Such as will not submit to their unjust unlimited power are imprisoned, plundered, and destroyed, such as will not pay such exacti-
ons as they require towards this rebellion are threatened to be put out of protection (as they call it) of the Parliament, such as conscientiously remember their duty and loyalty to Me their Sovereign are reviled, persecuted, and declared Traytors, such as do desire to maintain the true Protestant Religion, as it is established by the Laws of the Land are traduced and called Popish, and superstitious: And on the contrary such as are known Brownists, Anabaptists, & publick depravers of the Book of Common Prayer, are countenanced & encouraged. They exact and receive Tonnage and Poundage, and other great duties upon Merchandizes, not onely without Law, but in the face of an Act of Parliament to the contrary, past this present Parliament, which puts all men into the condition of a *Præmunire* that shall presume so to oppresse the people. If you desire to know who are the contrivers of these wicked designs, you shall finde some of their names in particular, and their actions at large in my Declaration of the 12 of *August* (to which I shall refer you) I wish their craft and power were not such, that few of those copies can come to the view of my good people, since that time these men so thirst after the destruction of this Kingdom, that they have prevailed to make all my offers of Treaty (which might bring peace to this Kingdom, & beget a good understanding between me and my Parliament) fruitlesse. In this distresse into w^{ch} these men have brought me, and this Kingdom, my confidence is in the protection of Almighty God, & the affections of my good people, & that you may clearly see what my resolutions are, I shall cause my voluntary Protestation lately taken to be read to you. And I desire that the Sheriffs of these

two Counties will dispose copies of that and what I now deliver unto you, having no other way to make it publick; these men having restrained the use of my presses at *London*, and the Universities.

His Majesties Speech to the Gentlemen, Freeholders, and other inhabitants of the County of Salop, at Shrewsbury, Sept. 28.

1642.

Gentlemen,

IT is some benefit to Me, from the insolencies and misfortunes which have driven Me about, that they have brought me to so good a part of my Kingdom, and to so faithful a part of my people; I hope neither you nor I shall repent my coming hither, I will do my part that you may not, and of you I was confident before I came. The residence of an Army is not usually pleasant to any place, and mine may carry more fear with it, since it may be thought (being robbed and spoyled of all my own, and such terror used to fright and keep all men from supplying me) I must onely live upon the aid and relief of my people; but be not afraid: I would to God my poor Subjects suffered no more by the Insolence and Violence of that Army raised against me (though they have made themselves wanton even with plenty) then you shall do by mine; and yet I fear I cannot prevent all disorders: I will do my best, and this I promise you, no man shall be a loser by me, if I can help it.

I have sent hither for a Mint; I will melt down all my own Plate, and expose all my Land to Sale or Mortgage, that, if it be possible, I may not bring the least pressure upon you: In the mean time, I have summoned you hither, to invite you to do that for me

me and your selves, for the maintenance of your Religion, and the Law of the Land (by which you enjoy all that you have) which other men do against Us. Do not suffer so good a cause to be lost for want of supplying me with that which will be taken from you, by those who pursue me with this violence. And whilest these ill men sacrifice their Money, Plate, and utmost Industry to destroy the Common-wealth, be you no lesse liberal to preserve it: Assure your selves if it please God to blesse me with successe, I shall remember the Assistance every particular man here gives me, to his Advantage. However, it will hereafter (how furiously soever the mindes of men are now possessed) be honour and comfort to you, That with some charge, and trouble to your selves, you did your part to support your King, and preserve the Kingdom.

I desire Master Sheriff, and the rest of the Gentlemen, to distribute themselves in that method, that they may best receive the expressions which you shall make of your affections, the which I will have particularly represented to Me.

His Majesties Speech to the Clergy, Gentlemen, Freeholders, and Inhabitants of the County of Oxon, at Oxford.

Novemb. 2. 1642.

Gentlemen,

THough you see my Army marching from hence, I do not not intend to leave you, my Residence shall be so neer, that my power shall have an influence upon this place (of which I will besides take a particular care) for your protection, therefore fear not to expresse your affections to Me with that courage which becomes you: I know how, and by whom
this

this Countrey hath been awed, but I hope no man shall have more power to fright you from your Loyalty, then I have to restore you to it; and I shall guesse by the evidence of this day at your natural dispositions. In assisting Me, you defend your selves, for believe it, the Sword which is now drawn against Me, will destroy you, if I defend you not. I have, and will venture my life for you, 'twill be a shame for you to venture nothing. Whatsoever you shall be willing freely to contribute, I will take kindly of you, and whatsoever you shall lend Me, I will in the word of a King see justly repayed to you.

I appoint the Sheriffe to receive such money or plate as you (Gentlemen) shall be willing to assist Me with, and to return their names to Me: and you of the Clergy shall repair to Mr. Vice-Chancellour, who shall do the like, and I expect that you should advance this Service throughout the Countrey, and return your Collections suddenly to Me by the hand of the Sheriffe. And I assure you I shall take especial notice of such who shall be backward in this time of so visible necessity.

*His Majesties Speech to the Members of both Houses of Parliament assensbled at Oxford,
January 22. 1643.*

My Lords and Gentlemen,

When I consider your publick Interests and Concernments in the happinesse and honour of this Nation, and your particular sufferings in this Rebellion, for your affection and Loyalty to me; I must look upon you as the most competent Considerers and Counsellours how to manage and improve the Condition We are all in; for sure our condition is so equal, that the same violence hath oppressed Us all.

I have therefore called you together to be witnesses of My Actions, and privy to My Intentions; and certainly if I had the least thought, disagreeing with the happinesse and security of this Kingdom, I would not advise with such Counsellours, and I doubt not but your concurrence with Me will so far prevail over the hearts and understandings of this whole Kingdom, (who must look upon you as persons naturally and originally trusted by and for them) that it will be above the reach and malice of those who have hitherto had too great an influence upon the people, to discredit my most entire Actions, and sincere Promises; you will be the best witnesses for the one, and security for the other.

Very many of you can bear Me witnesse with what unwillingnesse I suffered My Self first to take up these defensive Arms; indeed with so great, that I was first almost in the power of those who in two set Battels, have sufficiently informed the World how tender they have been of the safety of my Person. I foresaw not onely the rage and oppression which would every day break out upon My Subjects, as the malice of these ill men increased, and their purposes were detected; but also the great inconveniences My best Subjects would suffer even by My own Army, raised and kept for their preservation and protection; for I was not so ill a Souldier, as not to foresee how impossible it was to keep a strict discipline, I being to struggle with so many defects and necessities: and I assure you the sense I have of their sufferings, who deserve well of Me, by My Forces, hath been a greater grief to Me then any thing for My own particular. My hope was, that either by successe on My part, or Repentance on theirs, God would have put a short end to this great storm. But guilt and despair have made these Men more wicked, then I imagine they at first intended to be: for instead of removing and reconciling these bloody Distractions, and restoring

ring peace to this languishing Countrey, they have invited a Forreign power to invade this Kingdom, & that in your names, and challenge this Invasion from them as a debt to the Common-wealth. You (My Lords) have, like your selves (as good *Patriots*) expressed your dissent, and vindicated your selves from that imputation: and I doubt not but you (Gentlemen) will let your Countries know how far you are from desiring such assistance, and how absolute and peremptory a breach this raising of Arms of My *Scots* Subjects is of that pacification, which was so lately and solemnly made by you, and can intend nothing but a conquest of you and your Laws. I shall send you all the advertisements I have of that businesse which is threatned from *Scotland*, and what is already acted from thence; and shall desire your speedy advice and assistance what is to be said or done, both with reference to this, and that Kingdom.

Our ends being the same, I am sure there will be no other difference in the way, then what upon debate and right understanding will be easily adjusted. Let our Religion (in which We are all most nearly concerned, and without care of which We must not look for Gods blessing) be vindicated and preserved; Let My Honour and Rights (which you finde to have an inseparable relation with your own interests) be vindicated and restored; Let your Liberties, Properties, Priviledges, (without which I would not be your King) be secured and confirmed, and there is nothing you can advise Me to, I will not meet you in; and I doubt not We shall together inform Posterity, how much our trust and confidence in each other, is a better expedient for the peace and preservation of the Kingdom, then Fears and Jealousies.

I shall keep you no longer from consulting together, then in telling you, that I have prepared fit places for your Meetings, to which I desire you to repair this night; assuring you, that I will be always ready

to

to receive any thing from you, admitting you to Me, or coming to you my Self, whensoever you shall desire. And so God direct you the best way.

*His Majesties Speech and Protestation, before
His receiving the holy Eucharist, at Christ-
Church in Oxford. 1643.*

His MAJESTY being to receive the Sacrament from the hands of the Lord Archbishop of Armagh, used these publick expressions, immediately before His receiving the blessed Elements; He rose up from His knees, and beckning to the Archbishop for a short forbearance, made this Protestation.

MY Lord, I espie here many resolved Protestants, who may declare to the World, the resolution I do now make. I have to the utmost of my power prepared my soul to become a Worthy Receiver: And may I so receive comfort by the blessed Sacrament, as I do intend the establishment of the true Reformed Protestant Religion, as it stood in its beauty, in the happy dayes of Queen *Elizabeth*, without any connivence at Popery. I blesse God, that in the midst of these publick distractions, I have still liberty to Communicate; And may this Sacrament be My Damnation, if My Heart do not joyn with My Lips in this Protestation.

His

His Majesties Speech to the Members of both Houses at Oxford. Feb. 7. 1643.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I Have hardly thus long forbore to give you thanks for the care and pains you have taken for the publick safety since your coming together. And first, I thank you for your inclination to peace; to which as my willingnesse of complying shewed the constancy of my endeavours in the best way for the publick good, so the Rebels by their scornfully rejecting your Overtures (as they have done heretofore mine) have shewed their constancy in their way.

Next, I must thank every one of you for so cheerful applying your selves to the maintenance and Recruiting of my Army, which I hope God will so bless, that thereby these Enemies of peace shall have their due reward. And truly (my Lords and Gentlemen) this alacrity of yours for providing for my Army, doth please me in no consideration so much, as that it is the best way for peace; for certainly this strange arrogancy of refusing to Treat with you, can proceed from nothing but their contempt of Our Forces. But it is your present Honour, and will be more to posterity, that God hath made you instruments to defend your Sovereign, and to preserve your Countrey; to see that Religion and Law to flourish, which you have rescued from the violence of Rebellion; for which I hope in time to recompence every one of you: but if I shall not, here is One I hope will, in which he shall but perform my commands. For I have no greater sadnesse for those who are my ill Subjects, then I have joy and comfort in your affections and fidelities. And so GOD prosper your proceedings.

His

His Majesties Speech to the Lords and Commons assembled, at Oxford, at their recess, April 26. 1644.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I Am now brought to you by your selves, for I should not soon have parted with you, if you had not desired it, and I believe that the same zeal and affection to Me and your Countrey, which hath brought & staid you here, hath caused you to seek this *Recess*, that so by distributing your selves into your several Countreys, We may all the better reap the fruits of Our consultations; wherefore in Gods name dispose of your selves as you think fit. I heartily thank you for what you have done, and fully approve of what you desire.

I think most (if not all) of you are engaged in my service, either in a Civil, or a Martial way; To you that have charge in my Armies, I recommend the diligent attendance on your Commands, that so by your good example and discipline, you may suppress license and disorder, which will discredit, and may destroy the best cause.

And to you who are engaged in the Civil affairs, I must recommend these few particulars; That you expedite those supplies of moneys, which by your advice I have sent for, whether by Subscription, or Excise, remembering that moneys are the Nerves of War.

Likewise that you use your best diligence for the pressing of men, and encouragement of Volunteers, by shewing them, that now the only way to preserve themselves from slavery, and their Countrey from ruine, is freely to engage their persons.

But chiefly, and with all possible care to enform

all my Subjects of the barbarity and odiousness of this Rebellion, how solicitous I have been for peace, and how insolently and scornfully rejected, assuring them that my Arms are raised, and kept onely for the defence of their Religion, Laws, and Liberties, which being once secured & vindicated, I shall most cheerfully lay them down, I having (God knowes) with much unwillingness taken them up.

Lastly, assure them that these extraordinary ways which necessity hath produced (and most of them not without your consent or advice) for My supply, shall not hereafter be brought in example to their prejudice, and I shall in the mean time do My best to prevent, and punish all exorbitances and disorders.

To conclude (My Lords and Gentlemen) I do now again (yet never enough) thank you for your great, and unanimous expressions of your affections to Me, which hath laid an unexpressible Obligation upon Me, and be assured that there is no profession which I have made for the defence and maintenance of our Religion, Laws, and Liberties, which I will not inviolably observe.

Now God who hath blessed this meeting with an unexpected unanimity, (which I esteem as one not of his least blessings) will I hope bring us all safe together again the eighth day of *October* next, in the mean time I shall be ready to receive any thing from your Committees that shall be desired.

*His Majesties Speech, at the delivery of the
Votes for a Personal Treaty at Carisbrook-
Castle, August 7. 1648.*

*By an Eye and Ear-witnesse, who not trust-
ing to his memory made use of his Pen. And
for the truth of this Relation, the Relator
appeals to the Commissioners themselves, or
to any there present, who had the happinesse
with him, to hear the most pious, most Chri-
stian expressions, of a most Religious King.*

ON *Munday, Aug. 7. 1648.* The Commissioners
having admittance into the KINGS presence,
the Votes were first read, and then presented to the
KING by the Earl of *Middlesex*, who desired His
MAJESTIES speedy Answer: Telling Him, that
their Return was limited to ten dayes: The KING
then askt, *Whether the ten dayes were not to be counted
from that of the delivery of the Message?* My Lord of
Middlesex answered, No, Sir, they are to be counted from
the day of our setting forth. The KING replied, *I have
not then five dayes allowed Me to consider of My Answer,
which I presume you expect in writing; And I have none
to help Me, no not so much as a Clerk to transcribe; how-
ever I will really contribute My best endeavours to a hap-
py peace.* — After a short pause, the KING said, *I
would have sent to the Parliament, but I desire them to
take notice, that My long silence proceeded not from a dull
stupid lazinesse, or My being insensible of My own or the
Kingdoms condition; but from the Incapacity that lay on
Me by reason of former Votes: but now a way is opened
to a Treaty, which I ever apprehended, as the onely means
to a durable peace: I shall cheerfully embrace it, and none*

shall more speedily run to it, then My self: And for My part, as being more concerned then any one in this Kingdom, nay should I say more then all, I speak it without vanity, I hope it will be thought no Hyperbolical expression, for I am assured, whosoever gains, I shall be a loser. —

His MAJESTY then read the Votes to himself, and having read them, said, *I like them well, My desires being included in these Votes: for what can I desire more, then to treat with Honour, Freedom, and Safety, upon the Propositions, and such other things as either I or the two Houses shall offer?* — His MAJESTY then askt, *Whether the Commissioners to Treat were yet nominated?* My Lord of Middlesex answered, *No, Sir.* Then the King said, *In a Treaty two sorts of things are considerable; some Necessary, others Convenient:—* Then the King said to them, *I will go and apply My Self to My Answer, that I may not delay a minute to promote so good a work:* And then withdrew, and for that time dismissed the Commissioners.

On Thursday, Aug. 10. the Commissioners waited on His MAJESTY to receive His Answer; and upon their entrance into the presence, the King said, *He was sorry He was limited to so short a time, and had so little helps for dispatch, yet notwithstanding he had prepared his Answer:* And immediately before the reading thereof, used these words, *That the last Message he sent to the Houses, was delivered to the Commissioners Sealed: And had it been so presented, it would have been better for him, but now he thought it fit to send this open, because he could not be in a worse Condition; being under so close a Restraint, none being suffered to speak a word to him, without suspicion.* — He then produced His Answer, and read it aloud in the Presence Chamber, being full of company: And after he had read it, His MAJESTY said, *That he hoped he had therein endeavoured to give satisfaction to His Parliament: There being nothing in it but what he conceiv'd is implied in their Votes.* And further added, *That there might be some that*

that would oppose this Treaty, as being gainers by these Wars, and therefore desired the continuance of it. Others might think Him revengeful, but he said he was so far from seeking revenge, That if a straw lay in the way to hurt them, He would stoop and take it up to prevent it: And said, God forgive them, for I do. Then the Commissioners coming to take their leaves of Him, He called them to Him, and asked them, how they liked his Answer? They told Him, They thought and hoped, it would produce a sudden and happy well-grounded peace.

His Majesties Speech to the Commissioners at the close of the Treaty at Newport.

Novem. 4. 1648.

At the close of the Treaty the King made a short Speech to this purpose.

THAT His Majesty hoped, the Commissioners were now sensible, that none was more desirous of a good and lasting peace then himself; That He had gone very far to give His two Houses satisfaction; that He thought, though the time for the Treaty was ended, yet the Treaty itself was not. That He expected to hear from His two Houses about His own Propositions, and would be ready to make His Concessions binding, by giving them the force of Lawes. He desired that the Commissioners would put a good interpretation upon His vehement expressions in some of His Debates, there being nothing in His intentions but kindnesse; and that as they had taken abundance of freedom, and shewed great abilities in their Debates,

which have taken his Majesty off from some of his own opinions, so his Majesty doubted not (had they had power to recede) some of his Reasons would have prevailed with them, as he is confident, had it been with his two Houses, it would have done with them. And therefore beseeches them to take the same freedom with his two Houses, to presse them to a compliance with him in those things his conscience is not yet satisfied in, which more time may do ; his opinion not being like the Laws of the *Medes* and *Persians*, unalterable, or infallible. Adding his Majesties very hearty thanks for the pains they have taken to satisfy him, professing, that he wanted eloquence to commend their abilities, desired them candidly to represent all the transactions of this Treaty to his two Houses, that they might see nothing of his interest, how near or dear soever (but that wherein his conscience is unsatisfied) can hinder on his part a happy conclusion of this Treaty. And then he and the Commissioners took leave ; and at night after supper they came and kissed his hand, and received a great deal of respect from his Majesty.

*His Majesties Farewell Speech unto the
Lords Commissioners at Newport in the Isle
of Wight. Novemb. 1648.*

MY LORDS, you are come to take your leave of me, and I believe we shall scarce ever see each other again : But Gods will be done, I thank God, I have made my peace with him, and shall without fear undergo what he shall be pleased to suffer Men to do unto Me.

My

My Lords, you cannot but know, that in My fall and ruine, you see your own, and that also neer to you; I pray God send you better friends then I have found.

I am fully informed of the whole carriage of the plot against Me and mine; and nothing so much afflicts Me, as the sense and feeling I have of the sufferings of My Subjects, and the miseries that hang over My three Kingdoms, drawn upon them by those who (upon pretences of good) violently pursue their own interests and ends.

These words His Majesty delivered with much alacrity, and cheerfulnesse, with a serene countenance, and carriage free from all disturbance.

Thus He parted with the Lords, leaving many tender impressions, (if not in them, yet) in the other hearers.

Fourty Several
M E S S A G E S
for P E A C E.

Sent by His *Majesty* to the two Houses of Parliament, before and since the breaking out of this War (whereof onely 21 were formerly printed together, and the rest which were then omitted, are now added)

By all which may evidently appear, His *Majesties* constant and earnest endeavours after peace, both before and after His imprisonment: And His many and gracious Concessions offered for the obtaining of the same.

With two Declarations written by His Majesty, the one, at *Carisbrook-Castle*, Jan. 14. 1647. after the Votes of *No addresse*. The other, at *Newport*, Novem. 22. 1648. when His Majesty was violently seized upon by the Army, after the Treaty was ended.

His

I.

*His Majesties Message of the twentieth of
January 1641. for composing of all
differences.*

HIS Majesty perceiving the manifold distractions which are now in this Kingdom, which cannot but bring great inconvenience, and mischief to this whole Government; In which, as His Majesty is most chiefly interested, so He holds himself by many Reasons, most obliged to do what in him lies, for the preventing thereof; though He might justly expect (as most proper for the duty of Subjects) that Propositions for the remedies of these Evils, ought rather to come to Him then from Him; yet His fatherly care of all His people being such, that He will rather lay by any particular respect of His own dignity, then that any time should be lost for prevention of these threatening Evils, which cannot admit the delays of the ordinary proceedings in Parliament; doth think fit to make this ensuing Proposition to both Houses of Parliament: That they will with all speed fall into a serious consideration of all those particulars, which they shall hold necessary, as well for the upholding and mainraing of His Majesties just and regal authority, and for the settling of His Revenue: As for the present and future establishment of their privileges, The free and quiet enjoying of their estates and fortunes; The liberties of their persons; The security of the true Religion now professed in the Church of *England*; and the settling of Ceremonies in such a manner as may take away all just offence. Which when they shall have digested and composed into one entire body, that so His Majesty and themselves may be able to make the more

clear judgement of them, it shall then appear by what his Majesty shall do, how far he hath been from intending or designing any of those things, which the too great Fears and Jealousies of some persons seem to apprehend: And how ready he will be to equal and exceed the greatest Examples of the most indulgent Princes in their Acts of Grace and Favour to their people. So that if all the present distractions (which so apparently threaten the ruine of this Kingdom) do not (by the blessing of Almighty God) end in an happy and blessed accommodation; his Majesty will then be ready to call Heaven and Earth, God & Man to witnesse, that it hath not failed on His part.

2.

His Majesties Message of the 15 of March, 1641. from Huntingdon, upon His removal to York, in pursuance of the former.

His Majesty being now in His remove to His City of York, where He intends to make His Residence for some time, thinks fit to send this Message to both Houses of Parliament.

That He doth very earnestly desire, that they will use all possible industry in expediting the businesse of Ireland, in which they shall finde so cheerful a concurrence by His Majesty, that no inconvenience shall happen to that service by His absence, He having all that Passion for the reducing of that Kingdom, which He hath expressed in His former Messages, and being unable by words to manifest more affection to it, then He hath endeavoured to do by those Messages (having likewise done all such Acts as He hath been moved unto by His Parliament) Therefore if the misfortunes and calamities of His poor Protestant Subjects there shall grow upon them (though His Majesty shall be deeply concerned in, and sensible of their sufferings)

sufferings) He shall wash His hands before all the World, from the least imputation of slacknesse in that most necessary and pious work.

And that His Majesty may leave no way unattempted, which may beget a good understanding between Him and His Parliament, He thinks it necessary to declare, That as He hath been so tender of the priviledges of Parliament, that He hath been ready and forward to retract any Act of His own, which He hath been enforced hath trencht upon their priviledges, so He expects an equal tendernesse in them of His Majesties known & unquestionable priviledges (which are the priviledges of the Kingdom) amongst which. He is assured it is a fundamental one, That His Subjects cannot be obliged to obey an Act, Order, or Injunction to which His Majesty hath not given His consent: And therefore He thinks it necessary to publish, That He expects, and hereby requires Obedience from all his loving Subjects, to the Laws established, and that they presume not upon any pretence of Order, or Ordinance (to which his Majesty is no party) concerning the *Militia*, or any other thing to do or execute what is not warranted by those Laws, his Majesty being resolved to keep the Laws himself, and to require obedience to them from all his Subjects.

And his Majesty once more recommends to his Parliament the substance of his Message of the twentieth of *January* last, that they compose and digest, with all speed such Acts, as they shall think fit, for the present and future establishment of their priviledges, the free and quiet enjoying their Estates and Fortunes; the liberties of their persons; the security of the true Religion, now professed in the Church of *England*; The maintaining his Majesties regal and just Authority, and settling his Revenue; his Majesty being most desirous to take all fitting and just wayes which may beget a happy understanding between
Him

Him and His Parliament, in which He conceives His greatest power and riches do consist.

3:
His Majesties Message from Nottingham,
when He set up His Standard.
 August 25. 1642.

*By the Earls of Southampton, and Dorset,
 Sir John Culpeper, Knight, Chancellour
 of the Exchequer, and Sir W. Vvedal,
 Knight.*

WE have with unspeakable grief of heart long beheld the distractions of this Our Kingdom; Our very soul is full of anguish until We may finde some remedy to prevent the miseries which are ready to overwhelm this whole Nation by a civil War: And though all Our endeavours tending to the composing of those unhappy differences betwixt Us and Our two Houses of Parliament (though pursued by Us with all zeal and sincerity) have been hitherto without that successe We hoped for; Yet such is Our constant and earnest care to preserve the publick peace, that We shall not be discouraged from using any Expedient, which by the blessing of the God of mercy may lay a firm foundation of peace and happines to all Our good Subjects: To this end observing that many mistakes have arisen by the Messages, Petitions, and Answers betwixt Us and Our two Houses of Parliament, which happily may be prevented by some other way of Treaty, wherein the matters in difference may be more cleerly understood, and more freely transacted; We have thought fit to propound to you, That some fit persons may be by you enabled to treat with the like number to

be.

be authorized by Us, in such a manner, and with such freedom of debate, as may best tend to that happy conclusion, which all good men desire, *The peace of the Kingdom*: Wherein as We promise in the word of a King all safety and encouragement to such as shall be sent unto Us, if you shall choose the place where We are for the Treaty, which We wholly leave to you, presuming on the like care of the safety of those We shall imploy, if you shall name an other place; So We assure you and all Our good Subjects, That (to the best of Our understanding) nothing shall be therein wanting on Our part, which may advance the true Protestant Religion, oppose Popery and Superstition, secure the Law of the Land (upon which is built as well Our just Prerogative, as the propriety and liberty of the Subject) confirm all just power and priviledges of Parliament, and render Us and Our people truly happy by a good understanding betwixt Us and Our two Houses of Parliament. Bring with you as firm resolutions to do your Duty, and let all Our people joyn with Us in Our prayers to Almighty God for his blessing upon this Work.

If this proposition shall be rejected by you, We have done Our duty so amply, that God will absolve Us from the guilt of any of that blood which must be spilt. And what opinion soever other men may have of Our power, We assure you nothing but Our Christian and pious care to prevent the effusion of blood hath begot this motion, Our provision of Men, Arms, and Money being such as may secure Us from further violence, till it please God to open the eyes of Our people.

4.

*His Majesties Message of Sept. 5. 1642.
in pursuance of the former.*

WE will not repeat what means We have used to prevent the dangerous and distracted estate of the Kingdom, nor how these means have been interpreted, because being desirous to avoid effusion of blood, We are willing to decline all memory of former bitterness that might make Our offer of a Treaty lesse readily accepted.

We never did declare, nor ever intended to declare both Our Houses of Parliament Traytors, or set up our Standard against them, and much lesse to put them and this Kingdom out of Our protection; We utterly professe against it before God and the World. And further to remove all possible scruples which may hinder the Treaty so much desired by Us; We hereby promise, so that a day be appointed by you for the revoking of your Declarations against all persons as Traytors or other wayes, for assisting Us, We shall with all cheerfulness upon the same day recall Our Proclamations and Declarations, and take down Our Standard: In which Treaty We shall be ready to grant any thing that shall be really for the good of Our Subjects; Conjuring you to consider the bleeding condition of *Ireland*, and the dangerous condition of *England*, in as high a degree as by these Our offers We have declared Our Self to do: And assuring you that Our chief desire in this World is to beget a good understanding and mutual confidence betwixt Us and Our two Houses of Parliament.

His

5.

His Majesties Message and Reply to the Answer of both Houses, to His former Message.

September 11. 1642.

WHo have taken most wayes, used most endeavours, and made most reall expressions to prevent the present Distractions and Dangers, let all the World judge, as well by former passages as Our two last Messages, which have been so fruitlesse, That (though We have descended to desire and presse it) not so much as a Treaty can be obtained, unlesse We would denude our Self of all force to defend Us from a visibible strength marching against Us, & admit those persons accounted as Traytors to Us, who according to their Duty, their Oaths of Allegiance, and the Law, have appeared in defence of Us their King and Liege Lord (whom We are bound in Conscience and Honour to preserve) though We disclaimed all Our Proclamations and Declarations, and the erecting of Our Standard as against Our Parliament. All We have now left in Our power is, To expresse the deep sense We have of the publick misery of this Kingdom, in which is involved that of Our distressed Protestants of *Ireland*, and to apply Our Self to Our necessary Defence, wherein We wholly relye upon the providence of God, the justice of Our cause, and the affection of Our good people, so far We are from putting them out of Our protection. When you shall desire a Treaty of Us, We shall piously remember whose blood is to be spilt in this Quarrel, and cheerfully embrace it. And as no other Reason induced Us to leave our City of *London*, but that with Honour and Safety We could not stay there; nor to raise any force, but for the necessary defence of Our Person and the Law,

Law, against Leavies in opposition to both ; so We shall suddenly and most willingly return to the one, and disband the other, as soon as those causes shall be removed. The God of Heaven direct you, and in mercy divert those judgements which hang over this Nation, and so deal with Us and Our posterity, as We desire the preservation and advancement of the true Protestant Religion, the Law and the Liberty of the Subject, The just rights of Parliament, and the peace of the Kingdom.

6.

*His Majesties Message of Nov. 12. 1642.
from Brainford: After the defeat of the
Parliaments forces at Edge-hill, and
at Brainford.*

WHereas the last night, being the eleventh of November, after the departure of the Committee of both Our Houses, with Our gracious Answer to their petition, We received certain information, (having till then heard nothing of it, either from the Houses Committee or otherwise) that the Lord of *Essex* had drawn his forces out of *London* towards Us, which hath necessitated Our sudden resolution to march with Our forces to *Brainford*; We have thought hereby fit to signifie to both Our Houses of Parliament, That We are no lesse desirous of the peace of the Kingdom, then We exprest in Our aforesaid Answer; The propositions for which, We shall willingly receive where ever We are, and desire (if it may be) to receive them at *Brainford* this night, or early to morrow morning; that all possible speed may be made in so good a work, and all inconveniencies, otherwise likely to intervene, may be avoided.

[And

And to justifie yet further, that Our intention was no other then was here profest, as soon as We were enformed that the Earl of *Essex* his Forces were departed from *Kingstone*, before any appearance or notice of further forces from *London*, (Our end of not being inclosed being obtained) We gave orders to quit *Brainford*, and to march away, and possesse that place.

We cannot but make one Argument more of the truth of Our profession, that this was all Our end, and that We had not the least thought, by so advancing to surprize and sack *London*, (which the Malignant party would infuse into that Our City) And that is, That probably God Almighty would not have given such a blessing to Our journey, as to have assisted Us so both by Land and Water, as with lesse then a third part of Our Foot, and with the losse but of ten men, to beat two of their best Regiments out of both *Brainfords*, for all the great advantage of their works in them, to kill him who commanded in chief, and to kill and drownd many others, to take five hundred prisoners, more arms, eleven Colours, and good store of Ammunition, fifteen pieces of Ordinance, (whereof We sunk most that We brought not away) and then unfought with, and unoffered at, nearer then by Ordinance, to march away, notwithstanding the great disadvantage of Our forces by the difficulties of the passages, if He, who is the Searcher of all hearts, and Truth it self, had not known the truth of our professions, and the innocency of Our heart, and how far We were from deserving those horrid accusations of Falshood, and Treachery cast so point blank upon Our own person, that it would amaze any man to see them suffered to be printed in Our City of *London*, if any thing of that kinde

kinde could be a wonder, after so many of the same and how really they desire accommodation, who upon this have Voted they will have none.

These Our Reasons for this Action, This Our satisfaction sent for it, and this blessing of God upon it, will (We doubt not) clear Us to all indifferent persons both of the Jesuitical Counsels, and the personal Treachery, to which some have presumed so impudently to impute it; And God so bleſſe Our future Actions, as We have delivered the truth of this.

7.

His Majesties Message containing His Reply to the Answer of both Houses to His former Message. Novemb. 18. 1642.

To the Answer of both Houses of Parliament to His Majesties Message of the 12 of November, His Majesty makes this Reply.

THAT this Message of the twelfth, though not received by them till the fourteenth, was sent to them first upon the same day upon which it was dated, and meeting with stops by the way, was again sent upon the thirteenth, and taken upon that day at ten in the morning by the Earl of *Essex*, & though not to him directed, was by him opened, so the slownesse of the Delivery is not so strange as the stop of the Letter said to be sent by Sir *Peter Killigrew*, which His Majesty hath not yet received, but concludes from the matter expressed to have been contained in that Letter (to wit, to know His pleasure, whether He intended the forbearance of Hostility) and by the command of such forbearance said to be sent to the Lord of *Essex* his Army, that no such forbearance was already concluded, and consequently neither had
already

His Majesty cause to suppose that He should take any of their Forces unprovided and secure in expectation of a fair Treaty, neither could any Hostile Act of His Majesties forces have been a course unsuitable to His Expressions, much lesse could an endeavour to prepossesse (for so He hoped He might have done) that place, which might have stopt the further march of those forces towards Him (which, for ought appeared to Him, might as well have been intended to *Colebrook* as to *Brainford*) and by that the further effusion of blood, deserve that stile.

His Majesty further conceives, That the printing so out of time of such a Declaration, as their Reply to His Answer to theirs of the six and twentieth of *May*, but the day before they voted the delivery of their Petition, and the march of the Earl of *Essex* his forces to *Brainford* so near to his Majesty, when the Committee at the same time attended Him with a Petition for a Treaty, the Earl of *Essex* being before posselt of all the other Avenues to his Army, by his Forces at *Windsore*, *Acton*, and *Kingstone*, was a more strange introduction to peace, then for His Majesty not to suffer Himself to be coopt up on all sides, because a Treaty had been mentioned, which was so really & so much desired by His Majesty, that this proceeding seems to Him purposely to be by some intended to divert (w^h it could not do) that His inclination

That His Majesty had no intention to master the City by so advancing, besides His profession, which (how meanly soever they seem to value it) He conceives a sufficient Argument (especially being onely opposed by suspicions and surmises) may appear by His not pursuing His victory at *Brainford*, but giving Orders to His Army to march away to *Kingstone* as soon as He heard that place was quitted, before any notice or appearance of further Forces from *London*; Nor could He finde a better way to satisfie them before hand, that He had no such intention, but that
His

His desire of peace, and of propositions that might conduce to it, still continued, then by that Message of the twelfth, for which care of His He was requited by such a reception of His Message and Messenger, as was contrary at once both to Duty, Civility, and the very Customes, and Law of War, and Nations, and such as theirs (though after this provocation) hath not found from Him.

His Majesty wonders that His souldiers should be charged with thirsting after blood, who took above five hundred prisoners in the very heat of the fight; His Majesty having since dismissed all the common souldiers, and entertained such as were willing to serve Him, and required onely from the rest an oath not to serve against Him: And His Majesty supposes such most apt and likely to maintain their power by blood and rapine, who have onely got it by Oppression and injustice; That His is vested in Him by the Law, and by that onely (if the destructive Counsels of others would not hinder such a peace, in which that might once again be the Universal Rule, and in which Religion and Justice can onely flourish) He desires to maintain it. And if peace were equally desired by them, as it is by His Majesty, He conceives it would have been proper to have sent Him such a paper as should have contained just propositions of peace, and not an unjust accusation of His Counsels, proceedings, and person. And His Majesty intends to march to such a distance from His City of *London*, as may take away all pretence of apprehension from His Army, that might hinder them in all security from yet preparing them to be sent to Him, and there will be ready either to receive them, or to end the pressures and miseries, which His Subjects to His great grief suffer through this War, by a present battell.

8.

His Majesties Message for a Treaty, March 3. 1643. from Oxford.

C. R.

OUt of Our most tender and pious sense of the sad and bleeding condition of this Our Kingdom, and Our unwearied desires to apply all Remedies, which by the blessing of Almighty God, may recover it from an utter ruine; By the advice of the Lords and Commons of Parliament assembled at Oxford, We do propound and desire, that a convenient number of fit persons, may be appointed and authorized by you to meet with all convenient speed, at such place as you shall nominate, with an equal number of fit persons, whom We shall appoint and authorize to treat of the wayes and means to settle the present distractions of this Our Kingdom, and to procure a happy peace. And particularly, how all the Members of both Houses may securely meet in a full and free Convention of Parliament, there to treat, consult, and agree upon such things, as may conduce to the maintenance and defence of the true reformed Protestant Religion, with due consideration to all just, and reasonable ease of tender consciences; to the settling and maintrining of Our just Rights and priviledges; of the Rights and priviledges of Parliament, the Lawes of the Land, the

the Liberty and property of the Subject; and all other expedients that may conduce to that blessed end of a firm and lasting peace, both in Church and State, and a perfect understanding betwixt Us and Our people, wherein no endeavours or Concurrence of Ours shall be wanting. And God direct your hearts in the wayes of peace. *Given at Our Court at Oxford, the third day of March. 1643.*

Superscribed,

*To the Lords and Commons
of Parliament assembled
at Westminster.*

9.

*His Majesties Message after the ending of
the Treaty at Oxford, concerning the dis-
banding of all Forces, and His return
to the Parliament. April 12. 1643.
Oxford.*

TO shew to the whole World how earnestly His Majesty longs for peace, and that no successe shall make Him desire the continuance of His Army to any other end, or for any longer time then that, and untill things may be so settled, as that the Law may have a full, free, and uninterrupted course, for the defence and preservation of the Rights of His Majesty, both Houses, and His good Subjects.

1. As soon as His Majesty is satisfied in His first Proposition concerning His own Revenue, Magazines, Ships, and Forts, in which He desires nothing but that the Just, Known, Legal Rights of His Majesty (devolved to Him from His Progenitors) and of the persons

persons trusted by Him; which hath been violently taken from both, be restored unto Him, and unto them, unlesse any just and legal exceptions against any of the persons trusted by Him (which are yet unknown to His Majesty) can be made appear to Him.

2. As soon as all the Members of both Houses shall be restored to the same capacity of sitting and Voting in Parliament, as they had upon the first of *January*, 1641. the same of right belonging unto them by their birth-rights, and the free Election of those that sent them, and having been voted from them for adhering to His Majesty in these distractions. His Majesty not intending that this should extend either to the Bishops, whose Votes have been taken away by Bill, or to such in whose places upon new Writs new Elections have been made.

3. As soon as His Majesty and both Houses may be secured from such tumultuous Assemblies, as to the great breach of the priviledges, and the high dishonour of Parliaments, have formerly assembled about both Houses, and awed the Members of the same, and occasioned two severall complaints from the Lords House, and two severall desires of that House to the House of Commons, to joyn in a Declaration against them, the complying with which desire, might have prevented all these miserable distractions which have ensued. Which security His Majesty conceives can be onely settled by adjourning the Parliament to some other place, at the least twenty miles from *London*, the choice of which His Majesty leaves to both Houses.

His Majesty will most cheerfully and readily consent that both Armies be immediately distanded, and give a present meeting to both His Houses of Parliament at the time and place, at and to which the Parliament shall be agreed to be adjourned.

His Majesty being most confident, that the Law will then recover the due credit and estimation, and that

that upon a free debate in a full and peaceable convention of Parliament, such provisions will be made against seditious preaching and printing against His Majesty, and the established Lawes, which hath bin one of the chief causes of the present distractions; and such care will be taken concerning the legal and known Rights of His Majesty, and the property and liberty of His Subjects, that whatsoever hath been published or done in or by colour of any illegal Declaration, Ordinance or Order of one or both Houses, or any Committee of either of them, and particularly the power to raise Armes without His Majesties consent, will be in such manner recalled, disclaimed, and provided against, that no seed will remain for the like to spring out for the future, to disturbe the peace of the Kingdom, and to endanger the very being of it.

And in such a convention His Majesty is resolved by His readinesse to consent to whatsoever shall be proposed to Him by Bill for the real good of His Subjects, (and particularly for the better discovery and speedier conviction of Recusants,) for the education of the children of Papists by Protestants in the Protestant Religion, for the prevention of the practices of Papists against the State, and the due execution of the Laws, and true levying of the penalties against them) to make known to all the world how causelesse those fears and jealousies have been, which have been raised against Him, and by that so distracted this miserable Kingdom. And if this offer of His Majesty be not consented to, (in which He asks nothing for which there is not apparant justice on His side, and in which He defers many things highly concerning both Himself and people, till a full and peaceable Convention of Parliament, which in Justice He might now require) His Majesty is confident that it will then appear to all the world, not onely who is most delirous of Peace, and whose fault it is that
both

both Armies are not now disbanded, but who have been the true and first cause that this peace was ever interrupted, or these Armies raised; & the beginning or continuance of the War, and the destruction and desolation of this poor Kingdom (which is too likely to ensue) will not, by the most interested, passionate, or prejudicate person, be imputed to His Majesty.

IO.

*His Majesties Message of the 19 of May,
1643. in pursuance of the former.
Oxford.*

SINCE His Majesties Message of the twelfth of April, (in which He conceived He had made such an Overture for the immediate disbanding of all Armies, and composure of these present miserable distractions, by a full and free convention in Parliament, that a perfect and settled peace would have ensued) hath in all this time (above a full moneth) procured no Answer from both Houses, His Majesty might well believe Himself absolved before God and Man, from the least possible Charge of not having used His utmost endeavour for peace: yet when He considers that the Scene of all this calamity is in the bowels of His own Kingdom, that all the blood which is spilt is of His own Subjects, and that what victory soever it shall please God to give Him, must be over those who ought not to have lifted up their hands against Him; When He considers that these desperate civil Dissensions may encourage and invite a forraign Enemy to make a prey of the whole Nation; That *Ireland* is in present danger to be totally lost; That the heavey judgements of God, Plague, Pestilence, and Famine, will be the inevitable attendants of this unnatural Contention; And that in a short time, there will

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be so general a habit of uncharitablenesse and cruelty contracted throughout the Kingdom, that even peace it self will not restore His people to their old temper and security, His Majesty cannot but again call for an Answer to that His Message; which gives so fair a Rise, to end these unnatural distractions. And His Majesty doth this with the more earnestnesse, because He doubts not the condition of His Armies in several parts, His strength of Horse, Foot, and Artillery, His plenty of Ammunition (which some men lately might conceive He wanted) is so well known and understood, that it must be confessed, that nothing but the tendernesse and love to His people, and those Christian impressions which alwayes have, and He hopes alwayes shall dwell in his heart, could move Him once more to hazard a refusal. And He requires them as they will answer to God, to Himself, and all the World, That they will no longer suffer their fellow subjects to welter in each others blood; That they will remember by whose authority, and to what end they met in that Counsel, and sent such an Answer to His Majesty as may open a door to let in a firm peace and security to the whole Kingdom. If His Majesty shall again be disappointed of His intentions herein, the blood, rapine, and distraction, which must follow in *England, and Ireland*, will be cast upon the account of those who are deaf to the motion of of peace and accommodation.

His

II.

*His Majesties Message from Evelham, after
the defeat of Waller at Cropredy-bridge,
July 4. 1644.*

*To the Lords and Commons of Parliament
assembled at Westminster.*

C. R.

WE being deeply sensible of the miseries and calamities of this Our Kingdom, and of the grievous sufferings of Our poor subjects, do most earnestly desire that some expedient may be found out, which by the blessing of God may prevent the further effusion of blood, and restore the Nation to peace, from the earnest and constant endeavouring of which, as no discouragement given Us on the contrary part shall make Us cease, so no successe on Ours shall ever divert Us. For the effecting whereof We are most ready and willing to condescend to all that shall be for the good of Us and Our people, whether by way of confirmation of what We have already granted, or of such further concession as shall be requisite to the giving a full assurance of the performance of all Our most real professions, concerning the maintenance of the true reformed Protestant Religion established in this Kingdom, with due regard to the ease of tender consciences, the just priviledges of Parliament, and the liberty and property of the Subject, according to the Laws of the Land, as also by granting a general pardon without or with exceptions, as shall be thought fit. In order to which blessed peace, We do desire and propound to the

Lords and Commons of Parliament assembled at Westminster, That they appoint such, and so many persons as they shall think fit sufficiently authorized by them to attend Us at Our Army, upon safe conduct to come & return (which We do hereby grant) and conclude with Us, how the premisses and all other things in question betwixt Us and them, may be fully settled; whereby all unhappy mistakings betwixt Us and Our people being removed, there may be a present Cessation of Arms, and as soon as may be, a total disbanding of all Armies, the Subject have his due, and We be restored to Our Rights. Wherein if this Our offer shall be accepted, there shall be nothing wanting on Our part, which may make Our people secure and happy.

Given at Our Court at Evesham the fourth of July 1644.

12.

His Majesties Message from Tavestock for Accommodation, Septemb. 8. 1644. After the defeat of the Earl of Essex in Cornwall.

To the Lords and Commons of Parliament assembled at Westminster.

C. R.

IT having pleased GOD in so eminent a manner, lately to blesse Our Armies in these parts with success,

esse, We do no not so much joy in that blessing for any other consideration, as for the hopes We have that it may be a means to make others lay to heart, as We do, the miseries brought and continued upon Our Kingdom by this unnatural War, and that it may open your ears, and dispose your mindes to embrace those offers of peace and reconciliation, which have been so often, and so earnestly made unto you by Us, and from the constant and fervent endeavours, of which we are resolved never to desist. In pursuance whereof, We do upon this occasion conjure you to take into consideration Our (too long neglected) Message of the fourth of *July* from *Evesham*, which We again renew unto you. And that you will speedily send Us such an answer thereunto, as may shew unto Our poor Subjects, some light of a deliverance from their present calamities by a happy accommodation, toward which We do here engage the word of a King, to make good all those things which We have therein promised, and really to endeavour a happy conclusion of this Treary. And so God direct you in the wayes of peace.

*Given at Our Court at Tavestock the 8.
of Septemb. 1644.*

13.

*His Majesties Message for a safe conduct for
certain persons of Honour, to be sent with
Propositions of Peace. Decem. 5. 1645.
Oxford.*

Charles R.

HIS Majesty being deeply sensible of the continu-
ation of this bloody and unnatural War, cannot
think himself discharg'd of the duty He owes to God,
or the affection and regard He hath to the preservati-
on of His people, without the constant application
of His earnest endeavours to finde some expedient
for the speedy ending of these unhappy distractions,
if that may be, doth therefore desire, That a safe
Conduct may be forthwith sent for the Duke of Rich-
mond, the Earl of Southampton, John Ashburnham, and
Jeffery Palmer Esquires, and their attendants, with
Coaches, Horses, and other accommodations for their
journey to Westminster, during their stay there, and
return when they shall think fit. Whom His Majesty
intends to send to the Lords and Commons assembled
in the Parliament of *England* at Westminster, and the
Commissioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*, furni-
shed with such propositions, as His Majesty is confi-
dent will be the foundation of a happy and well-
grounded peace.

Given at Our Court at Oxford 5 Decemb. 1645.

*For the Speaker of the House
of Peers pro tempore.*

His

14.

His Majesties Message of Decemb. 15. 1645.

in pursuance of the former. Oxford.

Charles R.

HIS Majesty cannot but extremely wonder, that after so many expressions on your part, of a deep and seeming sense of the miseries of this afflicted Kingdom, and of the dangers incident to His person during the continuance of this unnatural War, your many great and so often repeated protestations, that the raising of these Arms hath been onely for the necessary defence of Gods true Religion, His Majesties honour, safety and prosperity, the peace, comfort, and security of His people, you should delay a safe conduct to the persons mentioned in His Majesties Message of the fifth of this instant December, which are to be sent unto you with Propositions for a well-grounded peace: A thing so far from having been denied at any time by His Majesty, whensoever you have desired the same, that He believes it hath been seldom (if ever) practised among the most avowed and professed enemies, much lesse from Subjects to their King. But His Majesty is resolved, that no discouragements whatsoever shall make Him fail of His part, in doing His utmost endeavours to put an end to these calamities, which if not in time prevented, must prove the ruine of this unhappy Nation: And therefore doth once again desire, That a safe Conduct may be forthwith sent for those persons expressed in His former Message, and doth therefore conjure you, as you will answer to Almighty God, in that day when He shall make inquisition for all the blood that hath and may yet be spilt in this unnatural War, as you tender the preservation and establish-

80 *His MAJESTIES Messages for peace.*

ment of the true Religion ; by all the bonds of duty and Allegiance to your King, or compassion to your bleeding and unhappy Countrey, and of charity to your selves, that you dispose your hearts to a true sence, and imploy all your faculties in a more serious endeavour, together with his Majesty, to set a speedy end to these wasting Divisions, and then He shall not doubt, but that God will yet again give the blessing of peace to this distracted Kingdom.

Given at the Court at Oxford, the 15 of Decemb.
1645.

*For the Speaker of the House
of Peers pro tempore.*

15:

His Majesties Message for a personal Treaty, with Propositions for Peace, Dec. 15.

1645. Oxford.

C. R.

Notwithstanding the strange and unexpected delays (which can be presided by no former times) to his Majesties two former Messages, his Majesty will lay aside all expostulations, as rather serving to lose time, then to contribute any remedy to the evils, which (for the present) do afflict this distracted Kingdom ; therefore without further preamble, his Majesty thinks it most necessary to send these propositions this way, which He intended to do by the persons mentioned in His former Messages, though He well knows the great disadvantage, which Overtures of this kind have, by the want of being accompanied by well-instructed Messengers.

His

His Majesty conceiving that the former treaties have hitherto proved ineffectual, chiefly for want of power in those persons that treated, as likewise, because those from whom their power was derived (not possibly having the particular informations of every several debate) could not give so clear a judgement as was requisite in so important a business; If therefore his Majesty may have the engagement of the two Houses of Parliament at *Westminster*, the Commissioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*, the Mayor, Aldermen, Common-Council, and Militia of *London*, of the chief Commanders in Sir *Thomas Fairfax* his Army, as also those in the *Scots* Army, for his Majesties free and safe coming to, and abode in *London* or *Westminster*, (with such of His servants now attending Him, and their followers, not exceeding in all the number of three hundred) for the space of forty dayes, and after the said time for His free and safe repair to any of His Garrisons of *Oxford*, *Worcester*, or *Newark*, (which his Majesty shall nominate at any time before His going from *London* or *Westminster*) his Majesty propounds to have a personal Treaty with the two Houses of Parliament at *Westminster*, and the Commissioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*, upon all matters which may conduce to the restoring of peace and happiness to these miserable distracted Kingdomes: And to begin with the three Heads which were Treated on at *Uxbridge*. And for the better clearing of his Majesties earnest and sincere intentions of putting an end to these unnatural distractions, (knowing that point of security may prove the greatest obstacle to this most blessed work) his Majesty therefore declares, That He is willing to commit the great trust of the *Militia* of this Kingdom, for such time, and with such powers, as are exprest in the paper delivered by his Majesties Commissioners at *Uxbridge*, the sixth of February

1st, to these persons following, viz. The Lord Privy Seal, the Duke of Richmond, the Marquesse of Hertford, the Marquesse of Dorchester, the Earl of Dorset, Lord Chamberlain, the Earl of Northumberland, the Earl of Essex, Earl of Southampton, Earl of Pembroke, Earl of Salisbury, Earl of Manchester, Earl of Warwick, Earl of Denbigh, Earl of Chichester, Lord Say, Lord Seymour, Lord Lucas, Lord Lexington, M. Denzil Hollis, M. Pierpoint, M. Hen. Bellasis, M. Rich. Spencer, Sir Thomas Fairfax, M. John Ashburnham, Sir Gervase Clifton, Sir Hen. Vane jun. M. Rob. Wallop, M. Thomas Chicheley, M. Oliver Cromwel, M. Philip Skippon, supposing that these are persons against whom there can be no just exception: But if this doth not satisfie, then His Majesty offers to name the one half, and leave the other to the election of the two Houses of Parliament at Westminster, with the Powers and Limitations before mentioned.

Thus His Majesty calls God and the World to witness, of His sincere intentions and real endeavours, for the composing and settling of these miserable Distractions, which He doubts not, but by the blessing of God, will soon be put to a happy Conclusion, if this His Majesties offer be accepted: Otherwise He leaves all the World to judge, who are the continuers of this unnatural war. And therefore He once more conjures you, by all the bonds of duty you owe to God and your King, to have so great a compassion on the bleeding and miserable estate of your Countrey, That you joyn your most serious and hearty endeavours with His Majesty, to put a happy and speedy end to these present miseries.

Given at the Court at Oxford the 26 of Decem. 1645.

For the Speaker of the House of Peers *pro tempore*, to be communicated to the two Houses of Parliament at Westminster, and to the Commissioners of the Parliament of Scotland.

His

16.

His Majesties Message in pursuance of the former, for a Personal Treaty at Westminster, Decemb. 29. 1645. Oxf:

C. R.

ALthough the Message sent by Sir Peter Killegrew, may justly require an expostulatory Answer, yet His Majesty layes that aside, as not so proper for His present endeavours; leaving all the World to judge, whether His proposition for a personal Treaty, or the flat denial of a safe conduct for persons to begin a Treaty, be greater signes of a real intention to peace; and shall now onely insist upon His former Message of the 26 of this December. That upon His repair to Westminster, He doubts not but so to joyn His endeavours with His two Houses of Parliament, as to give just satisfaction, not onely concerning the businesse of Ireland, but also for the settling of a way for the payment of the publick debts, as well to the Scots, and to the City of London, as others. And as already He hath shewn a fair way for the settling of the Militia, so He shall carefully endeavour in all other particulars, that none shall have cause to complain for want of security, whereby just Jealousies may arise to hinder the continuance of the desired peace. And certainly this proposition of a personal Treaty could never have entred into His Majesties thoughts, if He had not resolved to make apparant to all the World, that the publick good and peace of this Kingdom, is far dearer to Him then the respect of any particular interest. Wherefore none can oppose this motion, without a manifest demonstration, that he particularly envies His Majesty should be the chief

Author.

Author in so blessed a work, besides the declaring Himself a direct opposer of the happy peace of these Nations. To conclude, whosoever will not be ashamed, that His fair and specious protestations should be brought to a true and publick test; and those who have a real sense, and do truly commiserate the miseries of their bleeding Countrey, let them speedily and cheerfully embrace his Majesties proposition for His personal Treaty at *Westminster*, which, by the blessing of God, will undoubtedly to these now distracted Kingdoms, restore the happinesse of a long wisht for, and lasting peace.

Given at the Court at *Oxford*, the 29 day of December. 1645.

*For the Speaker of the House of Peers
pro tempore, to be communicated
to the two Houses of Parliament at
Westminster, and the Commissioners
of the Parliament of Scotland.*

17.

*His Majesties Message of January 15. 1645.
in pursuance of the former, containing His
Majesties Concessions and Offers.*

Oxford.

C. R.

BUt that these are times, wherein nothing is strange; it were a thing much to be marvelled at, what should cause this unparallel'd long detention of his Majesties Trumpet, sent with His gracious Message of the 26 of December last: peace being the onely Subject of it, and his Majesties personal Treaty, the means proposed for it. And it were almost

most as great a wonder, that his Majesty should be so long from enquiring after it, if that the hourly expectation thereof, had not, in some measure satisfied His impatience: But lest his Majesty by His long silence, should condemn himself of carelesse in that, which so much concerns the good of all His people, He thinks it high time to enquire after His said Trumpeter: For since all men who pretend any goodnesse, must desire peace; and that all men know Treaties to be the best and most Christian way to procure it, and there being as little question, that His Majesties personal presence in it, is the likeliest way to bring it to a happy Issue; He judges there must be some strange variety of accidents, which causeth this most tedious delay; wherefore his Majesty earnestly desires to have a speedy account of His former Message, the Subject whereof is peace, and the means His personal presence at *Westminster*, where the government of the Church being settled, as it was in the times of the happy and glorious reigns of Queen *Elizabeth* and King *James*, and full liberty for the ease of their Consciences, who will not communicate in that service established by Law, and likewise for the free and publick use of the *Directory* (prescribed, and by command of the two Houses of Parliament, now practised in some parts of the City of *London*) to such as shall desire to use the same, and all forces being agreed to bee disbanded, his Majesty will then forthwith (as He hath in His Message of the twenty ninth of December last, already offered) joyn with His two Houses of Parliament, in settling some way for the payment of the publick Debts to His *Scots* Subjects, the City of *London*, and others: And his Majesty having proposed a fair way, for the settling of the *Militia*, which now by this long delay seems not to be thought sufficient security: his Majesty (to shew how really He will imploy Himself at His coming to *Westminster*) for making this
a lasting

a lasting peace, and taking away all jealousies (how groundlesse soever) will endeavour upon debate with His two Houses, so to dispose of it (as likewise of the businesse of Ireland) as may give to them and both Kingdoms just satisfaction; nor doubting also, but to give good contentment to His two Houses of Parliament in the choice of the Lord Admiral, the officers of State, and others, if his two Houses, by their ready inclinations to peace shall give Him encouragement thereunto. Thus His Majesty having taken occasion by his just impatience so to explain his intentions, that no man can doubt of a happy issue to this succeeding Treaty: If now there shall be so much as a delay of the same, He calls God and the World to witnesse, who they are, that not onely hinder, but reject this Kingdoms future happinesse, It being so much the stranger, that his Majesties coming to Westminster, (which was first the greatest pretence for taking up Arms) should be so much as delayed, much lesse not accepted or refused; but his Majesty hopes, that God will no longer suffer the malice of wicked men to hinder the peace of this too much afflicted Kingdom.

Given at the Court at Oxford, the 15. of January,
1645.

*For the Speaker of the House of Peers
pro tempore, To be communicated
to the two Houses of Parliament at
Westminster, and the Commissioners
of the Parliament of Scotland.*

18.

*His Majesties Message of Jan. 17. 1645.
for an answer to His former Messages.*

Oxford.

C. R.

His Majesty thinks not fit now to answer those aspersions which are returned as arguments for His not admittance to Westminster for a personal Treaty, because it would inforce a style not suitable to His end, it being the peace of those miserable Kingdoms: yet thus much He cannot but say to those who have sent Him this answer, that if they had considered what they have done themselves in occasioning the shedding of so much innocent blood, by withdrawing themselves from their duty to Him, in a time when He had granted so much to His Subjects, and in violating the known laws of the Kingdom to draw an exorbitant power to themselves over their fellow Subjects, (to say no more to do as they have done) they could not have given such a false character of his Majesties actions. Wherefore his Majesty must now remember them, that having some houres before His receiving of their last paper of the 13 of January, sent another Message to them of the 15: wherein by divers particulars He enlargeth Himself to shew the reality of his endeavors for peace by his desired personal Treaty (w^h He still conceives to be the likeleift way to attain to that blessed end) He thinks fit by this Message to call for an Answer to that, and indeed to all the former. For certainly no rational man can think their last paper can be any Answer to His former demands, the scope of it being, that because there is a war, therefore there should be

88 *His MAJESTIES Messages for peace.*

no Treaty for Peace. And is it possible to expect that the propositions mentioned should bee the grounds of a lasting peace, when the persons that send them will not endure to hear their own King speak? But what ever the successe hath been of his Majesties former Messages, or how small soever his hopes are of a better, considering the high strain of those who deal with his Majesty, yet He will neither want Fatherly bowels to His Subjects in general, nor will He forget that God hath appointed Him for their King with whom He treats. Wherefore He now demands a speedy answer to His last and former Messages.

Given at Our Court at Oxford this 17 of January, 1645.

*For the Speaker of the House of Peers
pro tempore, to be communicated, &c.*

19.

*His Majesties Message of January 24. 1645.
for answer to His former Message, and concerning their Reasons against a Personal
Treaty: Oxford.*

C. R.

THe procuring peace to these Kingdomes by Treaty, is so much desired by His Majesty, that no unjust aspersions whatsoever, or any other discouragements shall make Him desist from doing His endeavour therein, untill He shall see it altogether impossible: and therefore hath thought fitting so far onely to make reply to that paper or Answer which He hath received of the thirteenth of this instant January, as may take away those objections which are made against his Majesties coming to *Westminster*, expecting still an Answer to His Messages of the fifteenth and seventeenth, which He hopes by this time have begotten

begotten better thoughts and resolutions, in the Members of both Houses. And first therefore, whereas in the said last paper it is objected as an impediment to his Majesties personal Treaty, that much innocent blood hath been shed in this war, by his Majesties Commissions, &c. He will not now dispute (it being apparent to all the World by whom this blood hath been spilt) but rather presseth that there should be no more: and (to that end onely) He hath desired this personal Treaty, as judging it the most immediate means to abolish so many horrid confusions in all His Kingdoms. And it is no Argument, to say, That there shall be no such personal Treaty, because there have been Wars, it being a strong inducement to have such a Treaty to put an end to the War. Secondly, that there should be no such personal Treaty, because some of His *Irish* Subjects have repaired to His assistance in it, seems an Argument altogether as strange as the other; as alwayes urging that there should be no physick, because the party is sick: And in this particular it hath been often observed unto them, that those whom they call *Irish*, who have so expressed their loyalty to their Sovereign, were indeed (for the most part) such English Protestants, as had been formerly sent into *Ireland* by the two Houses, impossibilitated to stay there any longer by the neglect of those that sent them thither, who should there have better provided for them. And for any Forrain Forces, it is too apparent that *their* Armies have swarmed with them, when his Majesty hath had very few or none. And whereas, for a third impediment, it is alledged that the Prince is in the Head of an Army in the *West*, and that there are divers Garrisons still kept in his Majesties obedience, and that there are Forces in *Scotland*; it must bee as much confessed, as that as yet there is no peace: And therefore it is desired, that by such a personal Treaty, all these impediments may be removed.

And

And it is not here amisse to put them in minde, how long since his Majesty did presse a disbanding of all forces on both sides, the refusing whereof, hath been the cause of this objection. And whereas exception is taken, that there is a time limited in the proposition for his Majesties personal Treaty, thereupon inferring, that He should again return to hostility; his Majesty protesteth that He seeks this Treaty to void future hostility, and to procure a lasting peace; and if He can meet with like inclinations to peace in those He desires to treat with, He will bring such affections and resolutions in Himself, as shall end all these unhappy bloody differences. As for those engagements which his Majesty hath desired for his security, who-soever shall call to minde the particular occasions that enforced his Majesty to leave His City of London and Westminster, will judge His demand very reasonable and necessary for His safety. But He no way conceiveth how the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, Common Councel, and *Militia* of London, were either subject or subordinate to that Authority which is alledged, as knowing neither Law nor practice for it: And if the two Armies be, He believes it is more then can be parallell'd by any former times in this Kingdom. Nor can his Majesty understand how his Majesties seeking of a personal Security can be any breach of priviledge: it being likely to be infringed by hindering his Majesty from coming freely to his two Houses. As for the objection that his Majesty omitted to mention the settling Religion, and securing the peace of His Native Kingdom, his Majesty declares, that He conceives that it was included in His former, and hath been particularly mentioned in His latter Message of the 15 present. But, for their better satisfaction, He again expresth that it was, and ever shall be, both His meaning and endeavour in this Treaty desired; and it seems to him very clear, that there is no way for a final ending of such distractions

distractions as afflict this Kingdom, but either by Treaty or Conquest, the latter of which his Majesty hopes none will have the impudency or impiety to wish for. And for the former, if His personal assistance in it be not the most likely way, let any reasonable man judge: when by that means not onely all unnecessary delays will be removed, but even the greatest difficulties made easie. And therefore He doth now again earnestly insist upon that proposition expecting to have a better answer upon mature consideration. And can it be imagined that any propositions will be so effectual, being formed before a personal Treaty, as such as are framed and propounded upon a full debate on both sides? Wherefore his Majesty, who is most concerned in the good of His people, and is most desirous to restore peace and happinesse to His three Kingdoms, doth again instantly desire an Answer to His said former Messages, to which He hath hitherto received none.

Given at Our Court at Oxon the 24 of January 1645.

*To the Speaker of the House of Peers
pro tempore, to be communicated
to the two Houses of Parliament
at Westminster, and to the Com-
missioners of the Parliament of
Scotland.*

His

20.

*His Majesties Message of January 29. 1645.
about Ireland, and His Majesties further
Concessions, and desire of a Personal
Treaty: Oxford.*

C. R.

HIS Majesty having received Information from the Lord Lieutenant and Council in Ireland; That the Earl of *Glamorgan* hath, without his or their directions or privity, entred into a Treaty with some Commissioners on the Romnn Catholick party there, and also drawn up and agreed unto certain Articles with the said Commissioners, highly derogatory to his Majesties Honour and Royal Dignity, and most prejudiciall unto the Protestant Religion and Church there in *Ireland*: Whereupon the said Earl of *Glamorgan* is arrested, upon suspition of high Treason, and imprisoned by the said Lord Lieutenant and Council, at the instance and by the impeachment of the Lord *Digby*, who (by reason of his place and former imployment in these affairs) doth best know how contrary that proceeding of the said Earl hath been to His Majesties Intentions and Directions, and what great prejudice it might bring to his affairs, if those proceedings of the Earl of *Glamorgan*, should be any wayes understood to have been done by the directions, liking, or approbation of his Majesty.

His Majesty, having in his former Messages for a personal Treaty offered to give contentment to his two Houses in the businesse of *Ireland*; hath now thought fitting, the better to shew his clear intentions,

ons, and to give satisfaction to his said Houses of Parliament, and the rest of His Subjects in all His Kingdoms; to send this Declaration to His said Houses containing the whole truth of the businesse, which is,

That the Earl of *Glamorgan* having made offer unto Him to raise Forces in the Kingdom of *Ireland*, and to Conduct them into *England* for his Majesties Service, had a Commission to that purpose, and to that purpose onely.

That he had no Commission at all to Treat of any thing else, without the privy and directions of the Lord Lieutenant, much lesse to Capitulate any thing concerning Religion, or any propriety, belonging either to Church or Laity.

That it clearly appears by the Lord Lieutenants proceedings with the said Earl, That he had no notice at all of what the said Earl had Treated and pretended to have capitulated with the *Irish*, until by accident it came to his knowledge.

And his Majesty doth protest, That untill such time as He had advertisement, that the person of the said Earl of *Glamorgan* was arrested and restrained, as is abovesaid, He never heard, nor had any kinde of notice, that the said Earl had entred into any kinde of Treaty or Capitulation with those *Irish* Commissioners: much lesse, that He had concluded or signed those Articles so destructive both to Church and State, and so repugnant to His Majesties publick professions, and known Resolutions.

And for the further vindication of his Majesties honour and integrity herein, He doth declare, That He is so far from considering any thing contained in those papers or Writings framed by the said Earle, and those Commissioners with whom he Treated, as He doth absolutely disavow him therein,
and

and hath given commandment to the Lo. Lieutenant, and the Councel there, to proceed against the said Earl, as one, who either out of falsenesse, presumption, or folly, hath so hazarded the blemishing of His Majesties Reputation, with His good Subjects, and so impertinently framed those Articles of his own head, without the consent, privy, or directions of his Majesty, or the Lord Lieutenant, or any of his Majesties Councel there. But true it is, that for the necessary preservation of his Majesties Protestant Subjects in *Ireland*, whose case was daily represented unto Him to be so desperate, his Majesty had given Commission to the Lord Lieutenant to treat and conclude such a peace there, as might be for the safety of that Crown, the preservation of the Protestant Religion, and no way derogatory to His own honour and publick professions.

But to the end, that His Majesties real intentions in this businesse of *Ireland*, may be the more clearly understood, and to give more ample satisfaction to both Houses of Parliament, and the Commissioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*, especially concerning His Majesties not being engaged in any peace or agreement there: He doth desire, if the two Houses shall resolve to admit of His Majesties repair to *London*, for a personal Treaty, (as was formerly proposed) that speedy notice be given thereof to His Majesty, and a passe or safe conduct, with a blank sent for a Messenger to be immediately dispatcht into *Ireland*, to prevent any accident that may happen to hinder His Majesties resolution of leaving the managing of the businesse of *Ireland* wholly to the two Houses, and to make no peace there, but with their consent, which in case it shall please God to blesse His endeavours in the Treaty with successe, his Majesty doth hereby engage Himself to do.

And for a further explanation of His Majesties intentions in His former Messages, He doth now declare

clare, That if His personal repair to *London*, as afore-
said, shall be admitted, and a peace thereon shall en-
sue, He will then leave the nomination of the persons
to be intrusted with the *Militia*, wholly to His two
Houses, with such power and limitations as are ex-
pressed in the paper delivered by His Majesties
Commissioners, at *Uxbridge* the sixth of February,
1644. for the term of seven years, as hath been desi-
red, to be given immediately after the conclusion of
the peace, the disbanding of all Forces on both sides,
and the dismantling of the Garrisons erected since
these present troubles, so as at the expiration of the
time before mentioned, the power of the *Militia*
shall entirely revert and remain as before.

And for their further security, his Majesty (the
peace succeeding) will be content, that *pro hac vice*,
the two Houses shall nominate the Admiral, Officers
of State, and Judges, to hold their places during life,
or *quâm diu se bene gesserint*, which shall be best liked,
to be accountable to none but the King, and the two
Houses of Parliament.

As for matter of Religion; His Majesty doth fur-
ther declare, That by the liberty offered in His Mes-
sage of the 15 present, for the ease of their Conscien-
ces who will not communicate in the service already
established by Act of Parliament in this Kingdom;
He intends that all other Protestants behaving them-
selves peaceably in and towards the Civil Govern-
ment, shall have the free exercise of their Religion,
according to their own way.

And for the total removing of all Fears and Jeal-
ousies, his Majesty is willing to agree, That upon the
conclusion of peace, there shall be a generall Act of
Oblivion and free pardon past by Act of Parliament
in both His Kingdoms respectively.

And lest it should be imagined that in the making
these propositions, his Majesties Kingdom of *Scot-*
land, and His Subjects there have been forgotten

or neglected, his Majesty declares, That what is here mentioned touching the *Militia*, and the naming of Officers of State and Judges, shall likewise extend to his Kingdom of *Scotland*.

And now his Majesty having so fully and clearly expressed his Intentions and desires of making a happy and well-grounded peace, if any person shall decline that happinesse by opposing of so apparent a way of attaining it, he will sufficiently demonstrate to all the World his intention and designe can bee no other, then the totall subversion and change of the ancient and happy Government of this Kingdom under which the English Nation hath so long flourished.

Given at Our Court at Oxon the 24 of January 1645.

*To the Speaker of the House of Peers
pro tempore, to be communicated
to the two Houses of Parliament
at Westminster, and to the Com-
missioners of the Parliament of
Scotland.*

His

21.

His Majesties Message for an answer to His last. February 26. 1645. Oxford.

C. R.

HIS Majesty needs to make no excuse, though He sent no more Messages unto you: for he very well knows He ought not to do it, if He either stood upon punctilio's of Honour, or his own private interest; the one being already call'd in question by His often sending; and the other assuredly prejudg'd if a peace be concluded from that He hath already offered, He having therein departed with many of His undoubted Rights. But nothing being equally dear unto Him, to the preservation of His people, his Majesty passeth by many scruples, neglects, and delays, and once more desires you to give him a speedy answer to His last Message; for his Majesty believes it doth very well become Him (after this very long delay) at last to utter His impatience, since that the goods and blood of his Subjects cries so much for peace.

Given at the Court at Oxford, the 26 day of December. 1645.

For the Speaker of the House of Peers pro tempore, to be communicated to the two Houses of Parliament at Westminster, and the Commissioners of the Parliament of Scotland.

E

His

22.

*His Majesties Message for His coming to
London, upon the faith of the two Houses,
March 23. 1645. Oxford.*

C. R.

NOrwithstanding the unexpected silence in stead of answer to his Majesties many and gracious Messages to both Houses, whereby it may appear, that they desire to obtain their ends by force, rather than Treaty, which may justly discourage his Majesty from any more overtures of that kinde, yet his Majesty conceives He shall be much wanting to His duty to God, and in what He oweth to the safety of His people, if He should not intend to prevent the great inconveniences that may otherwise hinder a safe and well-grounded peace. His Majesty therefore now proposeth, that, so He may have the faith of both Houses of Parliament for the preservation of His Honour, person, and estate; and that liberty be given to all those who do and have adhered to his Majesty to go to their own houses, and there to live peaceably enjoying their estates, all Sequestrations being taken off, without being compelled to take any Oath not enjoyned by the undoubted Lawes of the Kingdom, or being put to any other molestation whatsoever, He will immediately disband all His Forces, and dismanle all His Garrisons, and being accompanied with His Royal, not His Martial Attendance, return to His two Houses of Parliament, and there reside with them. And for the better security of all his Majesties Subjects, He proposeth
that

that He with His said two Houses immediately upon His coming to *Westminster* will passe an Act of Oblivion and free pardon, and where his Majesty will further do whatsoever they will advise Him for the good and peace of this Kingdom. And as for the Kingdom of *Scotland*, his Majesty hath made no mention of it here, in regard of the great losse of time which must now bee spent in expecting an answer from thence, but declares that, immediately upon His coming to *Westminster*, He will apply Himself to give them all satisfaction touching that Kingdom. If his Majesty could possibly doubt the successe of this offer, He could use many arguments to perswade them to it; but shall onely insist on that great One of giving an instant peace to these afflicted Kingdoms.

*Given at Our Court at Oxford, the 23 of
March 1645.*

*For the Speaker of the House
of Peers pro tempore, to
bee communicated to the
two Houses of Parliament
at Westminster.*

*His Majesties Message of May 18. 1646.
from Southwel. Containing His further
Concessions for the obtaining of Peace.*

C. R.

HIS Majesty having understood from both his Houses of Parliament, that it was not safe for Him to come to *London* (whither he had purposed to repair, if so He might, by their advice to do whatever may be best for the good and peace of these Kingdoms) until He shall first give His consent to such Propositions, as were to be presented to Him from them: And being certainly enformed that the Armies were marching so fast up to *Oxford*, and made that no fit place for treating, did resolve to withdraw himself hither, onely to secure his own person, and with no intention to continue this War any longer, or to make any division between His two Kingdoms, but to give such contentment to both, as, by the blessing of God, He might see a happy and well-grounded peace, thereby to bring prosperity to these Kingdoms, answerable to the best times of his Progenitors.

And since the settling of Religion ought to be the chiefest care of all Councils, his Majesty most earnestly and heartily recommends to His two Houses of Parliament all the wayes and means possible, for speedy finishing this pious and necessary work; and particularly, that they take the advice of the Divines of both Kingdoms assembled at Westminster. Likewise concerning the *Militia* of England, for securing his people against all pretentions of danger, his Majesty is pleased to have it settled as was offered at the
Treaty

Treaty at *Uxbridge*, all the persons being to be named for the Trust by the two Houses of the Parliament of *England*, for the space of seven years, and after the expiring of that term, that it be regulated as shall be agreed upon by his Majesty and His two Houses of Parliament.

And the like for the Kingdom of *Scotland*.

Concerning the wars in *Ireland*, his Majesty will do whatsoever is possible for Him, to give full satisfaction therein.

And if these be not satisfactory, his Majesty then desires that all such of the propositions as are already agreed upon by both Kingdoms may be speedily sent unto Him; his Majesty being resolved to comply with his Parliament in every thing that shall be for the happinesse of His Subjects, and for the removing of all unhappy differences, which have produced so many sad effects.

His Majesty having made these offers, he will neither question the thankful acceptance of them; nor doth He doubt but that His two Kingdoms will be careful to maintain Him in his honour, and in his just and lawful Rights, which is the onely way to make a happy composure of these unnatural Divisions. And likewise will think upon a solid way of conserving the peace between the two Kingdoms for time to come. And will take a speedy course for easing & quieting his afflicted people by satisfying the publick debts, by disbanding of all Armies, and whatsoever else shall be judged conducive to that end: that so, all hinderances being removed, he may return to his Parliament with mutual comfort.

Southwel May 18. 1646.

POST-SCRIPT.

His Majesty being desirous to shun the further effusion of blood, and to evidence His real intentions to peace, is willing that His Forces in, and about Oxford be disbanded, and the fortifications of the City dismantled, they receiving honourable conditions. Which being granted to the Town and Forces there, His Majesty will give the like order to the rest of the Garrisons.

*For the Speaker of the House of Peers
pro tempore, To be communicated
to the two Houses of Parliament at
Westminster, and the Commissioners
of the Parliament of Scotland.*

24.

*His Majesties Message from Newcastle June
10. 1646. For Propositions of Peace, and
a personal Treaty at London, with His
Letter to the Governours of all
His Garrisons.*

C. R.

His Majesty looking with grief of heart upon the sad sufferings of His people in His three Kingdoms for some years past, and being afflicted with their distresses and unquiet condition, through the distractions about Religion, the keeping of Forces on foot in the fields and Garrisons, the not satisfying the publick debts, and the fears of the further effusion of blood by the continuance of an unnatural War

in

in any of these Kingdoms, or by renting and dividing these Kingdoms so happily united: And having sent a gracious Message unto both Houses of Parliament, and the Commissioners of the Parliament of Scotland, expressing the necessary causes of His coming from Oxford unto the Scottish Army, (without any intention to make a Division, where He is in freedom and right Capacity to settle a true peace) & containing such offers as He conceived would have been accepted, with a general clause of complying with their desires; And being impatient of delays, and not acquainted with the particulars which may give contentment to them, his Majesty doth earnestly desire, That the Propositions of peace so often promised, and so much expected, may be speedily sent unto Him, That upon consideration of them, He may apply himself to give such satisfaction, as may be the foundation of a firm peace. And for the better and more speedy attaining thereunto, his Majesty doth further propound, That He may come to London with Safety, Freedom, and Honour, where He resolves to comply with His Houses of Parliament in every thing which may be most for the good of His Subjects, and perfect what remains for settling both Kingdoms and people in a happy condition; being likewise most confident, That they according to their reiterated Declarations, and solemn Protestations, will be zealous in the maintenance of his Honour, & just and lawfull Rights. And his Majesty desires the Houses of Parliament, To disburden the Kingdom of all Forces and Garrisons in their power, except such as before these unhappy Times have been maintain'd for the necessary defence and safety of this Kingdom; So He is willing forthwith to disband all His Forces and Garrisons within the same, as the inclosed order herewith sent will evidence. And if upon these offers his Majesty shall have such satisfaction as Hee may bee confident a firm peace shall ensue

thereon, his Majesty will then give order for his Son the Prince his present return.

Newcastle, the tenth of June 1646.

For the Speaker of the House of Peers pro tempore, to be communicated to the Lords and Commons assembled in the Parliament of England at Westminster, and the Commissioners of the Parliament of Scotland.

Charls R.

HAVING resolved to comply with the desires of Our Parliament in every thing which may be for the good of Our Subjects, and leave no means unassayed for removing all differences amongst Us; Therefore We have thought fit, the more to evidence the reality of Our intentions of settling a happy and firm peace, to require you, upon honourable terms to quit those Towns, Castles, and Forts, intrusted to you by Us, and to disband all the Forces under your several commands.

Newcastle, the tenth of June 1646.

To Our Trusty and Well-beloved
 { Sir Thomas Glenham.
 { Sir Thomas Tildesly.
 { Col. H. Washington.
 { Col. Thomas Blagg.

Governours of Our Cities and Towns
 of Oxford, Lichfield, Worcester, and
 Wallingford.

And all other Commanders of any Towns, Castles,
 and Forts in Our Kingdom of England.

His

25.

*His Maj. sties Message of August 1. 1646.
from Newcastle, for a personal Treaty, at
or near London, upon the Propositions
sent to Him.*

C. R.

THe Propositions tendered to his Majesty by the Commissioners from the Lords and Commons, Assembled in the Parliament of *England* at *Westminster*, and the Commissioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*, (to which the Houses of Parliament have taken twice so many moneths for deliberation, as they have assigned dayes for his Majesties Answer) do import so great alterations in Government, both in Church and Kingdom, as it is very difficult to return a particular and positive Answer before a full debate, wherein these propositions and the necessary explanations, true sense & reasons thereof be rightly weighed and understood, and that his Majesty upon a full view of the whole propositions may know what is left, as well as what is taken away and changed. In all which He findes (upon discourse with the said Commissioners) that they are so bound up from any capacity, either to give reasons for the demands they bring, or to give ear to such desires as his Majesty is to propound, as it is impossible for Him to give such a present judgement of, and answer to these propositions, whereby He can answer to God that a safe and well-grounded peace will ensue (which is evident to all the World can never be, unlesse the just power of the Crown, as well as the freedom and propriety of the Subject, with the just liberty & priviledges of the Parliament bee likewise settled) To which

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end

and his Majesty desires and proposeth to come to *London*, or any of His houses thereabouts upon the publick faith, and security of the two Houses of Parliament, and the Scotch Commissioners, That He shall be there with freedom, honour, and safety, where by His personal presence He may not onely raise a mutual confidence betwixt him and his people, but also have these doubts cleared, and these difficulties explained unto him, which He now conceives to be destructive to His just regal power, if He shall give a full consent to these propositions as they now stand.

As likewise, that He may make known to them, such His reasonable demands as He is most assured will be very much conducive to that peace, which all good men desire & pray for, by the settling of Religion, the just priviledges of Parliament, with the freedom and propriety of the Subject; and his Majesty assures them that as he can never condescend unto what is absolutely destructive to that just power, which by the laws of God and the Land he is born unto; So he will cheerfully grant, and give his assent unto all such bills, at the desire of his two Houses, or reasonable demands for *Scotland*, which shall be really for the good and peace of His people, not having regard to His own particular (much lesse of any bodies else) in respect of the happinesse of these Kingdoms. Wherefore his Majesty conjures them as Christians, as Subjects, and as men who desire to leave a good name behinde them, that they will so receive and make use of this Answer, that all issues of blood may be stopped, and these unhappy distractions peaceably settled.

Newcastle, August 1. 1646.

POST-SCRIPT.

POST-SCRIPT.

Vpon assurance of a happy agreement, his Majesty will immediately send for the Prince His Son, absolutely expecting His perfect Obedience to return into this Kingdom.

*To the Speaker of the House of Peers
pro tempore. to be communicated, &c.*

26.

His Majesties Message from Newcastle, August 10. 1646. With a general Answer to the Propositions, and His desire to treat at or near London.

C. R.

THe Propositions tendered to his Majesty by the Commissioners from the Lords and Commons assembled in the Parliament of England at Westminster, and the Commissioners of the Parliament of Scotland, (to which the Houses of Parliament have taken twice so many moneths for deliberation as they have assigned dayes for his Majesties Answer) do import so great alterations in government both in the Church and Kingdom, as it is very difficult to return a particular and positive answer before a full debate wherein these Propositions and the necessary explanations, true sense and reasons thereof be rightly weighed and understood, and that his Majesty upon a full view of the whole Propositions may know what is left, as well as what is taken away and changed. In all which He findes (upon discourse with the said Commissioners, that

that they are so bound up from any capacity either to give reasons for the demands they bring, or to give ear to such desires as his Majesty is to propound, as it is impossible for Him to give such a present judgment of, and answer to these propositions, whereby He can answer to God that a safe and well-grounded peace will ensue (which is evident to all the World can never be unlesse the just power of the Crown, as well as the freedom and propriety of the Subject, with the just liberty and priviledges of the Parliament bee likewise settled) To which end his Majesty desires and proposeth to come to *London*, or any of His Houses thereabouts upon the publick Faith, and security of the two Houses of Parliament, & the *Scotch Commissioners*, that He shall be there with freedom, honour, and safety, where by His personal presence He may not onely raise a mutual confidence betwixt Him and His people, but also have those doubts cleared, and those difficulties explained unto Him which He now conceives to be destructive to His just Regal power if He shall give a full consent to these propositions as they now stand.

As likewise that He make known to them such His reasonable demands as Hee is most assured will bee very much conducive to that peace, which all good men desire and pray for, by the settling of Religion, the just priviledges of Parliament, with the freedom and propriety of the Subject; and his Majesty assures them that as He can never condescend unto what is absolutely destructive to that just power, which by the Laws of God and the Land He is born unto. So He will cheerfully grant and give his assent unto all such Bills, at the desire of his two Houses, or reasonable demands for *Scotland* which shall be really for the good and peace of His people, not having regard to His own particular (much lesse of any bodies else) in respect of the happinesse of these Kingdoms. Wherefore his Majesty conjures them as Christians, as Subjects,

jects, and as men who desire to leave a good name behinde them, that they will so receive and make use of this answer; that all issues of blood may bee stopped, and these unhappy distractions peaceably settled.

*To the Speaker of the House of Peers
pro tempore. to be communicated, &c.*

POST-SCRIPT.

Vpon assurance of a happy agreement, his Majesty will immediately send for the Prince His Son, absolutely expecting His perfect Obedience to return into this Kingdom.

27.

*His Majesties Message of Decem. 20. 1646.
from Newcastle for a personal Treaty, at
or near London, upon the faith of the
two Houses.*

C. R.

His Majesties thoughts being alwayes sincerely bent to the peace of His Kingdomes, was and will bee ever desirous to take all wayes which might the most clearly make appear the candour of His intensions to His people. And to this end, could finde no better way then to propose a personall free debate with His two Houses of Parliament upon all the present differences. Yet finding very much against His expectations, that this offer was laid aside, his Majesty bent all His thoughts
to

to make His intentions fully known by a particular Answer to the Propositions delivered to Him in the name of both Kingdomes, the 24 of *July* last. But the more He endeavoured it, He more plainly saw that any answer He could make would be subject to mis-informations and mis-constructions, which upon His own Paraphrases and Explanations He is most confident will give so good satisfaction, as would doubtlesse cause a happy and lasting peace. Lest therefore that good intentions may produce ill effects, His Majesty again proposeth, and desires again to come to *London*, or any of His Houses thereabouts, upon the publick Faith and security of His two Houses of Parliament, and the Scotch Commissioners, that He shall be there with Honour, Freedom, and Safety: Where, by His personal presence, He may not onely raise a mutual confidence betwixt Him and His people, but also have those doubts cleared, and those difficulties explained to Him, without which He cannot (but with the aforesaid mischievous inconveniencies) give a particular answer to the propositions: And with which He doubts not, but so to manifest His real intentions for the settling of Religion, the just priviledges of Parliament, with the freedom and property of the Subject, that it shall not be in the power of wicked and malicious men to hinder the establishing of that firm peace which all honest men desire. Assuring them, as He will make no other demands but such as He believes confidently to be just, and much conducing to the Tranquillity of the people: So He will be most willing to condescend to them in whatsoever shall be really for their good and happinesse. Not doubting likewise but you will also have a due regard to maintain the just power of the Crown, according to your many Protestations and professions. For certainly, except King and people have reciprocal care each of other, neither can be happy.

To conclude, 'tis your King who desires to be heard, (the which, if refused to a Subject by a King, he would be thought a Tyrant for it) and for that end which all men professe to desire. Wherefore His Majesty conjures you, as you desire to shew your selves really what you professe, even as you are good Christians and Subjects, that you will accept this His offer, which He is confident God will so blesse, that it will be the readiest means by which these Kingdoms may again become a comfort to their friends, and a terrour to their enemies.

Newcastle 20 December 1646.

*To the Speaker of the House of Peers
pro tempore, to be communicated
to the two Houses of Parliament
at Westminster, and to the Com-
missioners of the Parliament of
Scotland.*

His

28.

*His Majesties Message of Febr. 17. 1646.
from Holmby. Concerning His Chaplains.*

SINCE I have never dissembled, nor hid My Conscience, and that I am not yet satisfied with the alteration of Religion, to which you desire My consent, I will not yet lose time in giving reasons, which are too obvious to every body, why it is fit for Me to be attended by some of my Chaplains, whose opinions, as Clergymen, I esteem and reverence; not onely for the exercise of My Conscience, but also for clearing of My judgement concerning the present differences in Religion; as I have at full declared to Mr. *Marshal* and his *Fellow-Minister*: having shewed them, that it is the best and likeliest means of giving Me satisfaction, which without it I cannot have in these times: Whereby the distractions of this Church may be the better settled. Wherefore I desire that, at least, two of these *Reverend Divines*, whose names I have here set down, may have free liberty to wait upon Me, for the discharging of their duty unto Me, according to their function.

CHARLS R.

Holmby 17 Febr. 1646.

B. London.	D. Sanderfen.
B. Salisbury.	D. Baily.
B. Peterborough.	D. Heywood.
D. Shelden, Clerk of my	D. Beale.
Closet.	D. Fuller.
D. Marsh, Dean of	D. Hammond.
York.	D. Taylor.

*For the Speaker of the House
of Peers pro tempore, &c.*

His

29.

*His Majesties Message of March 6. 1646.
from Holmby in pursuance of the
former.*

C. R.

IT being now seventeen dayes since I wrote to you from hence, and not yet receiving any Answer to what I then desired, I cannot but now again renew the same unto you. And indeed concerning any thing but the necessary duty of a Christian, I would not thus at this time trouble you with any of My desires. But My being attended with some of My Chaplains, whom I esteem and reverence, is so necessary for Me, even considering My present condition, whether it be in relation to My conscience, or a happy settlement of the present distractions in religion, that I will slight divers kinds of censures, rather then not to obtain what I demand; nor shall I do you the wrong, as in this, to doubt the obtaining of My wish, it being totally grounded upon Reason. For desiring you to consider (not thinking it needful to mention) the divers reasons, which no Christian can be ignorant of, for point of Conscience, I must assure you that I cannot, as I ought, take in consideration those alterations

terations in Religion, which have and will be offered unto me, without such help as I desire; because I can never judge rightly of, or be altered in any thing of my opinion, so long as any ordinary way of finding out the truth is denied me; but when this is granted me, I promise you faithfully not to strive for victory in Argument, but to seek and submit to Truth (according to that judgement which God hath given me) alwayes holding it my best and greatest conquest to give contentment to my two Houses of Parliament in all things, which, I conceive, not to be against my conscience or honour; not doubting likewise but that you will be ready to satisfie me in reasonable things, as I hope to finde in this particular concerning the attendance of my Chaplains upon me.

CHARLS R.

Holdenby 6 March 1646.

*For the Speaker of the House
of Peers pro tempore, to be
communicated to the two
Houses of Parliament at
Westminster.*

His

30.

His Majesties Message with His answer in particular to the Propositions, May 12.

1647. Holmby.

C.R.

AS the dayly expectation of the coming of the Propositions hath made His Majesty this long time to forbear giving His Answer unto them, so the appearance of their sending being no more for any thing He can hear, then it was at His first coming hither, notwithstanding that the Earl of *Louderdale* hath been at *London* above these ten dayes, (whose not coming was said to be the onely stop) hath caused His Majesty thus to anticipate their coming to Him, and yet considering His condition, that His Servants are denied access to Him, all but very few, and those by appointment, not His own election, and that it is declared a crime for any but the Commissioners, or such who are particularly permitted by them, to converse with His Majesty, or that any Letters should be given to, or received from Him, may He not truly say, that He is not in case fit to make Concessions, or give Answers, since He is not master of these ordinary actions which are the undoubted rights of any free born man, how mean soever his birth be? And certainly he would still be silent as to this subject, until His condition were much mended, did He not prefer such a right understanding betwixt Him and His Parliaments of both Kingdoms, which may make a firm and lasting peace in all His Dominions, before any particular of His own, or any earthly blessing: and there-

therefore his Majesty hath diligently imployed His utmost endeavours for divers moneths past, so to inform His understanding, and satisfie His conscience, that He might be able to give such answers to the propositions, as would be most conformable to his Parliaments; but He ingeniously professes, that notwithstanding all the pains that Hee hath taken therein, the nature of some of them appears such unto Him, that without disclaiming that Reason which God hath given Him to judge by, for the good of Him and His people, and without putting the greatest violence upon His own conscience, He cannot give His consent to al of them. Yet his Majesty (that it may appear to all the World how desirous He is to give full satisfaction) hath thought fit hereby to expresse his readinesse to grant what he may, and his willingness to receive from them, and that personally if his two Houses at *Westminster* shall approve thereof, such further Information in the rest as may best convince his judgement, and satisfie those doubts which are not yet clear unto Him, desiring them also to consider that if his Majesty intended to winde himself out of these troubles by indirect means, were it not easie for Him now readily to consent to what hath, or shall be proposed unto Him; and afterwards choose His time to break all, alleaging, that forc'd Concessions are not to be kept? surely He might, and not incur a hard censure from indifferent men. But maxims in this kinde are not the guides of his Majesties actions, for He freely and clearly avows, that He holds it unlawful for any man, and most base in a King to recede from His promises for having been obtained by force or under restraint; wherefore his Majesty not onely rejecting those acts which He esteems unworthy of Him, but even passing by that which Hee might well insist upon, a point of honour, in respect of His present condition, thus answers the first proposition. That upon his Majesties coming to *London*, He will heartily

joyn in all that shall concern the honour of his two Kingdoms, or the Assembly of the States of Scotland, or of the Commissioners or Deputies of either Kingdom, particularly in those things which are desired in that proposition, upon confidence that all of them respectively with the same tender-*n*esse will look upon those things which concern his Majesties honour.

In answer to all the propositions concerning Religion, his Majesty proposeth, that He will confirm the Presbyterial government, the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, and the Directory, for three years, being the time set down by the two Houses, so that his Majesty and his household bee not hindered from that form of Gods service which they formerly have: And also, that a free consultation and debate be had with the Divines at Westminster (twenty of his Majesties nomination being added unto them) whereby it may be determined by his Majesty and the two Houses how the Church shall be governed after the said three yeers or sooner, if differences may be agreed. Touching the Covenant, his Majesty is not yet therein satisfied, and desires to respite his particular Answer thereunto until his coming to *London*, because it being a matter of conscience he cannot give a resolution therein till he may be assisted with the advice of some of his own Chaplains (which hath hitherto been denied him) and such other Divines as shall be most proper to inform him therein; and then he will make clearly appear, both his zeal to the Protestant profession, and the union of these two Kingdoms, which he conceives to be the main drift of this Covenant. To the seventh and eighth propositions, his Majesty will consent. To the ninth, his Majesty doubts not but to give good satisfaction when he shall be particularly informed how the said penalties shall be levied
and

and disposed of. To the tenth, his Majesties answer is, That He hath been alwayes ready to prevent the practices of Papists, and therefore is content to passe an Act of Parliament for that purpose: And also that the Laws against them be duly executed. His Majesty will give His consent to the Act for the due observation of the Lords day, for the suppressing of Innovations, and those concerning the preaching of Gods Word, and touching Non-Residence and Pluralities, and his Majesty will yeeld to such Act or Acts as shall be requisite to raise monies for the payment and satisfying all publick debts, expecting also that His will be therein included. As to the Proposition touching the *Militia*, though his Majesty cannot consent unto it *in terminis* as it is proposed, because thereby He conceives, he wholly parts with the power of the Sword entrusted to Him by God and the Laws of the Land, for the protection and government of his people, thereby at once devesting himself, and dis-inheriting His posterity of that right and Prerogative of the Crown, which is absolutely necessary to the Kingly Office, and so weaken Monarchy in this Kingdom, that little more then the name and shadow of it will remain: yet if it be onely security for the preservation of the peace of this Kingdom, after the unhappy troubles, and the due performance of all the agreements which are now to be concluded, which is desired, (which his Majesty alwayes enderstood to be the case, and hopes that herein He is not mistaken,) his Majesty will give abundant satisfaction, to which end He is willing by Act of Parliament, That the whole power of the *Militia*, both by Sea and Land for the space of ten years be in the hands of such persons as the two Houses shall nominate, giving them power during the said term to change the said persons, and substitute others in their places at pleasure, and afterwards to return to the proper chanel again, as it was in the times of
Queen

Queen Elizabeth and King James of blessed memory. And now his Majesty conjures His two Houses of Parliament, as they are Englishmen and lovers of peace, by the duty they owe to his Majesty their King, and by the bowels of compassion they have to their fellow subjects, that they will accept of this his Majesties offer, whereby the joyful news of peace may be restored to this languishing Kingdom. His Majesty will grant the like to the Kingdom of Scotland if it be desired, and agree to all things that are propounded touching the conserving of peace betwixt the two Kingdoms.

Touching Ireland (other things being agreed) his Majesty will give satisfaction therein. As to the mutual Declarations proposed to be established in both Kingdoms by Act of Parliament, And the Modifications, Qualifications, and Branches which follow in the Propositions, his Majesty only professes, that He doth not sufficiently understand, nor is able to reconcile many things contained in them; but this He well knoweth, That a general Act of Oblivion is the best bond of Peace; and that after intestine troubles, the wisdom of this and other Kingdomes hath usually and happily in all Ages granted general Pardons, whereby the numerous discontentments of many persons and Families otherwise exposed to ruine, might not become seed to new disorders, or seeds to future troubles. His Majesty therefore desires, that His two Houses of Parliament would seriously descend into these considerations, and likewise tenderly look upon His condition herein, and the perpetual dishonour that must cleave to Him, if He shall thus abandon so many persons of Condition and Fortune that have engaged themselves with and for Him, out of a sense of duty, and propounds as a very acceptable testimony of their affection to Him, That a general Act of Oblivion and free Pardon be forthwith passed by Act of Parliament. Touching the new
great

great Seal, his Majesty is very willing to confirm both it, and all the Acts done by vertue thereof, untill this present time, so that it be not thereby pressed to make void those Acts of His done by vertue of His great Seal, which in honour and justice he is obliged to maintain: And that the future government thereof may be in his Majesty, according to the due course of Law. Concerning the Officers mentioned in the 19 Article, his Majesty when he shall come to *Westminster* will gratifie his Parliament all that possibly He may, without destroying the alterations which are necessary for the Crown. His Majesty will willingly consent to the Act for the confirmation of the privileges and customes of the City of *London*, and all that is mentioned in the propositions for their particular advantage. And now that his Majesty hath thus far endeavoured to comply with the desires of his two Houses of Parliament, to the end that this agreement may be firm and lasting, without the least face or question of restraint to blemish the same, his Majesty earnestly desires presently to be admitted to his Parliament at *Westminster*, with that honour which is due to their Sovereign, there solemnly to confirm the same, and legally to passe the Acts before mentioned, and to give and receive as well satisfaction in all the remaining particulars, as likewise such other pledges of mutual love, trust, and confidence, as shall most concern the good of Him, and his people; upon which happy agreement, his Majesty will dispatch his Directions to the Prince his Son, to return immediately to him, and will undertake for his ready obedience thereunto. *Holmby, May 12. 1647.*

*For the Speaker of the House
of Peers pro tempore, to
bee communicated to the
two Houses of Parliament
at Westminster.*

31.

*His Majesties Message with His Answer to
the Propositions presented to Him at Hamp-
ton-Court. September 9. 1647.*
Hampton-Court.

C.R.

HIS Majesty cannot chuse but be passionately sensible (as He believes all His good Subjects are) of the late great distractions, and still languishing and unsetled state of this Kingdom; and He calls God to witnesse, and is willing to give testimony to all the World of His readinesse to contribute His utmost endeavours for restoring it to a happy and flourishing condition. His Majesty having perused the propositions now brought to Him, findes them the same in effect, which were offered to Him at *Newcastle*. To some of which as He could not then consent without violation of His conscience and Honour, So neither can He agree to others, now conceiving them in many respects more disagreeable to the present condition of affairs, then when they were formerly presented unto Him, as being destructive to the main principal interests of the Army, and of all those, whose affections concur with them. And His Majesty having seen the proposals of the Army to the Commissioners from His two Houses residing with them, and with them to be treated on, in order to the clearing and securing of the Rights and Liberties of the Kingdom, and the settling of a just and lasting peace. To which proposals, as He conceives his two Houses not to be strangers; So He believes they will think with Him, that they much more conduce to the satisfaction of all interests, and may be a fitter foundation,

tion for a lasting peace, then the propositions which at this time are tendred unto Him. He therefore propounds (as the best way in his judgement in order to a peace) that his two Houses would instantly take into consideration those proposals, upon which there may be a personal Treaty with his Majesty, and upon such other propositions as his Majesty shall make: hoping that the said proposals may be so moderated in the said Treaty, as to render them the more capable of his Majesties full concession: Wherein he resolves to give full satisfaction to His people, for whatsoever shall concern the settling of the Protestant profession, with liberty to tender consciences, and the securing of the Laws, Liberties and properties of all His Subjects, and the just priviledges of Parliaments for the Future: and likewise by His present deportment in this Treaty, He will make the World clearly judge of his intentions in matters of future Government. In which Treaty his Majesty will be well pleased (if it be thought fit) that Commissioners from the Army, (whose the proposals are) may likewise be admitted. His Majesty therefore conjures His two Houses of Parliament, by the duty they owe to God, and his Majesty their King, and by the bowels of compassion they have to their fellow-subjects, both for the relief of their present sufferings, and to prevent future miseries, ~~that they~~ will forthwith accept of this his Majesties offer, whereby the joyful news of peace may be restored to this distressed Kingdom; And for what concerns the Kingdom of Scotland mentioned in the propositions, his Majesty will very willingly Treat upon those particulars with the Scotch Commissioners; and doubts not, but to give reasonable satisfaction to that His Kingdom.

At Hampton-Court the 9 of September 1647.

*For the Speaker of the House of Peers
pro tempore, to be communicated, &c.*

His

32:

*His Majesties Message left on His Table at
Hampton-Court, Novem. 11. 1647.*

C. R.

Liberty being that which in all times hath been, but especially now is the common theam and desire of all men ; common reason shews, that Kings lesse then any should endure captivity. And yet, I call God and the world to witnesse, with what patience I have endured a tedious restraint : which so long as I had any hopes that this sort of my suffering might conduce to the peace of my Kingdoms, or the hindring of more effusion of blood, I did willingly undergo : but now finding by too certain proofs, that this my continued patience would not onely turn to my personal ruine, but likewise be of much more prejudice, then furtherance to the publick good ; I thought I was bound as well by natural, as political obligations, to seek my safety, by retiring my self for some time, from the publick view both of my friends and enemies : And I appeal to all indifferent men, to judge, if I have not just cause to free my self from the hands of those who change their principles with their condition ; and who are not ashamed openly to intend the destruction of the Nobility, taking away their negative voice ; and with whom, the Levellers doctrine is rather countenanced then punished : And as for their intentions to my person, their changing, and putting more strict Guards upon me, with the discharging most of all those servants of mine, who formerly they willingly admitted to wait upon me, does sufficiently declare. Nor would I have this retirement mis-interpreted ; for I shall earnestly and uncessantly endeavour the settling of a

safe and well-grounded peace, where ever I am or shall be; and that (as much as may be) without the effusion of more Christian blood: for which, how many times have I desired, prest to be heard, and yet no ear given to Me? And can any reasonable Man think, that (according to the ordinary course of affairs) there can be a settled peace without it? Or that God will blesse those, who refuse to hear their own King? Surely no. Nay I must farther adde, that (besides what concerns my self) unlesse all other chief interests, have not onely a hearing, but likewise just satisfaction given unto them, (to wit, the Presbyterians, Independents, Army, those who have adhered to me, and even the Scots) I say there cannot (I speak not of Miracles, it being in my opinion, a sinful presumption, in such cases, to expect or trust to them) be a safe or lasting peace.

Now as I cannot deny, but that my personal security is the urgent cause of this my retirement; so I take God to witnesse, that the publick peace is no lesse before my eyes: and I can finde no better way to expresse this my profession (I know not what a wiser may do) then by desiring and urging that all chief Interests may be heard, to the end each may have just satisfaction: As for example, the Army, (for the rest, though necessary, yet I suppose are not difficult to content) ought (in my judgement) to enjoy the liberty of their consciences, have an Act of Oblivion or Indempnity (which should extend to all the rest of my Subjects) and that all their arrears should be speedily and duly paid; which I will undertake to do, so I may be heard, and that I be not hindred from using such lawful and honest means as I shall chuse. To conclude, let me be heard with freedom, Honour, and Safety, and I shall instantly break through this Cloud of retirement, and shew my self really to be *Pater Patriæ*.

Hampton-Court, Novemb. 11. 1647.

For the Speaker of the House of Peers pro tempore, &c.

His

33.

*His Majesties Message of Novemb. 17. 1647.
for a Personal Treaty, with His par-
ticular concessions. From the Isle of
Wight.*

C. R.

HIS Majesty is confident that before this time, His two Houses of Parliament have received the Message which He left behinde Him at *Hampton-Court* the eleventh of this moneth, by which they will have understood the reasons which enforced Him to go from thence, as likewise His constant endeavours, for the settling of a safe and well-grounded peace wheresoever He should bee: And being now in a place, where He conceives Himself to be at much more freedom and security then formerly; He thinks it necessary (not onely for making good of His own professions, but also for the speedy procuring of a peace in these languishing and distressed Kingdoms) at this time to offer such grounds to His two Houses for that effect; which upon due examination of all Interests, may best conduce thereunto.

And because Religion is the best and chiefest foundation of peace, His Majesty will begin with that particular.

F 3

That

X That for the abolishing Arch-bishops, Bishops,
 &c. His Majesty clearly professeth, that He cannot
 give his consent thereunto, both in relation as he is
 a Christian, and a King: For the first, He avows that
 He is satisfied in his judgement, that this order was
 placed in the Church by the Apostles themselves;
 and ever since their time, hath continued in all Chri-
 stian Churches throughout the World, until this last
 century of years; and in this Church in all times of
 change and Reformation, it hath been upheld by
 the wisdom of his Ancestors, as the great preserver
 of Doctrine, Discipline, and order in the service of
 God. As a King at his Coronation, He hath not onely
 taken a solemn oath, to maintain this order, but his
 Majesty and his Predecessours in their confirmations
 X of the Great Charter, have inseparably woven the
 right of the Church into the liberties of the rest of
 the Subjects: and yet He is willing it be provided
 that the particular Bishops perform the several du-
 ties of their callings, both by their personal residence
 and frequent Preachings in their Diocesses, as also
 that they exercise no act of jurisdiction or ordination,
 without the consent of their Presbyters; And will
 consent, that their powers in all things be so limited,
 that they be not grievous to tender consciences:
 Wherefore, since his Majesty is willing to give ease
 X to the Consciences of others, He sees no reason why
 He alone, and those of His judgement, should be
 pressed to a violation of theirs. Nor can his Majesty
 consent to the alienation of Church lands, because
 it cannot be denied to be a sin of the highest Sacri-
 ledge; as also, that it subverts the intentions of so
 many pious Donors, who have laid a heavy curse up-
 on all such profane violations, which his Majesty is
 very unwilling to undergo: And besides the matter
 of conscience, his Majesty believes it to be a preju-
 dice to the publick good, many of his Subjects ha-
 ving the benefit of renewing Leases at much easier
 Rates,

Rates, then if those possessions were in the hands of private men; not omitting the discouragement which it will be to all learning and industry, when such eminent rewards shall be taken away which now lye open to the children of meanest persons.

Yet his Majesty considering the great present distempers concerning Church-discipline, and that the Presbyterian government is now in practice, his Majesty to eschew confusion as much as may be, and for the satisfaction of His two Houses, is content that the said government be legally permitted to stand, in the same condition it now is for three years; provided, that his Majesty and those of His judgement (or any other who cannot in conscience submit thereunto) be not obliged to comply with the Presbyterian government, but have free practice of their own profession, without receiving any prejudice thereby; and that a free consultation and debate be had with the Divines at *Westminster* (twenty of his Majesties nomination being added unto them) whereby it may be determined by his Majesty and the two Houses, how the Church government after the said time shall be settled, (or sooner if differences may be agreed) as is most agreeable to the Word of God; with full liberty to all those who shall differ upon conscientious grounds from that settlement; alwayes provided, that nothing aforesaid be understood to tolerate those of the popish profession, nor the exempting of any popish Recusant from the penalties of the Laws, or to tolerate the publick profession of Atheism or Blasphemy, contrary to the doctrine of the Apostles, Nicene, and Athanasian Creeds, they having been received by, and had in reverence of all the Christian Churches, and more particularly by this of *England*, ever since the Reformation.

Next, the *Militia* being that right, which is inseparably and undoubtedly inherent in the Crown, by the Laws of this Nation, and that which former Par-

liaments, as likewise this, hath acknowledged so to be; His Majesty cannot so much wrong that trust which the Laws of God and this Land hath annexed to the Crown for the protection and security of His people, as to divest Himself and Successours of the power of the Sword: yet to give an infallible evidence of His desire to secure the performance of such agreements as shall be made in order to a peace, his Majesty will consent to an Act of Parliament, that the whole power of the *Militia* both by Sea and Land, for and during His whole reign, shall be ordered and disposed by His two Houses of Parliament, or by such persons as they shall appoint, with powers limited for suppressing of forces within this Kingdom, to the disturbance of the publick peace, and against foreign invasion; and that they shall have power during His said reign, to raise monies for the purposes aforesaid; and that neither his Majesty that now is, or any other (by any authority derived onely from Him) shall execute any of the said powers during his Majesties said reign, but such as shall act by the consent and approbation of the two Houses of Parliament: Neverthelesse his Majesty intends that all Patents, Commissions, and other Acts concerning the *Militia*, be made and acted as formerly; and that after his Majesties reign, all the power of the *Militia* shall return entirely to the Crown, as it was in the times of Queen *Elizabeth*, and King *James* of blessed memory.

After this head of the *Militia*, the consideration of the arrears due to the Army is not improper to follow; for the payment whereof, and the ease of His people, his Majesty is willing to concur in any thing that can be done without the violation of His conscience and Honour. Wherefore if His two Houses shall consent to remit unto Him such benefit out of Sequestrations from *Michaelmas* last, and out of Compositions that shall be made before the concluding of the

the peace, and the arrears of such as have been already made, the assistance of the Clergy, and the arrears of such rents of His own Revenue as His two Houses shall not have received before the concluding of the peace, his Majesty will undertake within the space of eighteen moneths, the payment of four hundred thousand pounds for the satisfaction of the Army: And if those means shall not be sufficient, his Majesty intends to give way to the sale of Forrest Lands for that purpose, this being the publick Debt which in his Majesties judgement is first to be satisfied; and for other publick debts already contracted upon Church Lands or any other Ingagements, his Majesty will give His consent to such Act or Acts for raising of monies for payment thereof as both Houses shall hereafter agree upon, so as they be equally laid, whereby His people (already too heavily burthened by these late distempers) may have no more pressuures upon them then this absolute necessity requires: And for the further securing of all fears, his Majesty will consent, that an Act of Parliament be passed for the disposing of the great Offices of State, and naming of Privy Councillours for the whole term of His reign by the two Houses of Parliament, their Patents and Commissions being taken from his Majesty, and after to return to the Crown, as is expressed in the Article of the *Militia*. For the Court of Wards and Liveries, his Majesty very well knowes the consequence of taking that away, by turning of all Tenures into common Soccage, as well in point of Revenue to the Crown, as in the protection of many of His Subjects being Infants. Neverthelesse if the continuance thereof seem grievous to His Subjects, rather then He will fail on His part in giving satisfaction, He will consent to an Act for taking of it away, so as a full recompence be settled upon his Majesty and His Successours in perpetuity, and that the arrears now due be reserved unto Him towards the payment of the arrears of the Army. F 5 And

And that the memory of these late distractions may be wholly wiped away, his Majesty will consent to an Act of Parliament for the suppressing and making null of all Oathes, Declarations and Proclamations against both or either House of Parliament, and of all Indictments and other proceedings against any persons for adhering unto them: And his Majesty proposeth, (as the best expedient to take away all seeds of future differences) that there be an Act of Oblivion to extend to all his Subjects.

As for *Ireland*, the cessation there is long since determined, but for the future (all other things being fully agreed) his Majesty will give full satisfaction to His Houses concerning that Kingdom.

And although his Majesty cannot consent in honour and justice to avoid all His own Grants and Acts past under His Great Seal since the two and twentieth of May, 1642. or to the confirming of all the Acts and Grants passed under that made by the two Houses, yet his Majesty is confident, that upon perusal of particulars, He shall give full satisfaction to His two Houses, to what may be reasonably desired in that particular.

And now his Majesty conceives that by these His offers (which He is ready to make good upon the settlement of a peace) He hath clearly manifested His intentions to give full security and satisfaction to all Interests, for what can justly be desired in order to the future happinesse of His people. And for the perfecting of these Concessions, as also for such other things as may be proposed by the two Houses, and for such just and reasonable demands as his Majesty shall finde necessary to propose on His part, He earnestly desires a personal Treaty at *London* with his two Houses, in Honour, Freedom, and Safety, it being in His judgement the most proper, and indeed, onely means to a firm and settled peace, and impossible without it to reconcile former, or avoid future misunderstandings.

All

All these things being by Treaty perfected, his Majesty believes His two Houses will think it reasonable, that the proposals of the Army concerning the Succession of Parliaments and their due elections, should be taken into consideration.

As for what concerns the Kingdom of *Scotland*, his Majesty will very readily apply himself to give all reasonable satisfaction, when the desires of the two Houses of Parliament on their behalf, or of the Commissioners of that Kingdom, or of both joyned together, shall be made known unto Him.

C. R.

From the Isle of Wight, November 17. 1647.

*To the Speaker of the House of Peers
pro tempore, to be communicated
to the two Houses of Parliament
at Westminster, and to the Com-
missioners of the Parliament of
Scotland.*

His

*His Majesties Message of Decemb. 6. 1647. for an answer
to His last from Carisbrook Castle.*

E. R.

HAd his Majesty thought it possible that His two Houses could not be imployed in things of greater concernment then the peace of this miserable distracted Kingdom; He would have expected with more patience, their leisure in acknowledging the receipt of His Message of the 16 of November last. But since there is not in nature, any consideration preceding to that of peace, his Majesties constant tendernesse of the welfare of His Subjects, hath such a prevalence with Him, that He cannot forbear the vehement prosecution of a personal Treaty: which is, onely, so much the more desired by his Majesty, as it is superiour to all other means of peace. And truly, when his Majesty considers the severall complaints He daily hears from all parts of this Kingdom, That Trade is so decayed, all commodities so dear, and Taxes so insupportable, that even natural subsistence will suddenly fail. His Majesty (to perform the trust reposed in Him) must use His uttermost endeavours for peace, though He were to have no share in the benefit of it. And hath not his Majesty done His part for it, by divesting Himself of so much power and authority, as by His last Message He hath promised to do, upon the concluding of the whole peace? And hath He met with that acknowledgement from His two Houses, which this great grace and favour justly deserves? Surely the blame of this great retarding of peace must fall somewhere else, then on his Majesty.

To conclude, If ye will but consider in how little time this necessary good work will be done, if you the two Houses will wait on his Majesty with the same resolutions for peace, as He will meet you: He no way doubts, but that ye will willingly agree to this His Majesties earnest desire of a personal Treaty, and speedily desire His presence amongst you: Where all things

things agreed on being digested into Acts (till when, it is most unreasonable for his Majesty or His two Houses to desire, each of other the least concession) this Kingdom may at last enjoy the blessing of a long-wilht for peace.

Carisbrook-Castle, Dec. 6. 1647.

To the Speaker of the House of Peers pro tempore, &c.

35.

His Majesties Message and Answer to the 4 Bills, and the propositions presented to Him at Carisbrook-Castle, before the Votes of No Adresse. Dec. 28. 1647.

C. R.

THe necessity of complying with all engaged interests in these great distempers, for a perfect settlement of peace, his Majesty findes to be none of the least difficulties He hath met with since the time of His afflictions. Which is too visible, when at the same time, that the two Houses of the English Parliament do present to his Majesty several Bills and Propositions for His consent, the Commissioners for Scotland do openly protest against them: So that were there nothing in the case, but the consideration of that difference, his Majesty cannot imagine how to give such an answer to what is now proposed, as thereby to promise Himself his great end, *A perfect peace*. And when his Majesty further considers, how impossible it is (in the condition He now stands) to fulfil the desires of the two Houses; since the onely ancient and known wayes of passing Laws, are either by his Majesties personal assent in the House of Peers, or by Commission under His great Seal of *England*: He cannot but wonder at such failings in the manner of adresse, which is now made unto Him. Unlesse His two Houses intend, that his Majesty shall allow of a great Seal made without His authority, before there bee any consideration had thereupon in a Treaty. Which as it may hereafter hazard the security it self, so for the present, it seems very unreasonable to his Majesty.

And

And though his Majesty is willing to believe, that the intention of very many in both Houses, in sending these Bills before a Treaty, was onely to obtain a trust from Him, and not to take any advantage by passing them to force other things from Him, which are either against His Conscience or Honour: yet his Majesty believes it clear to all understandings, that these Bills contain (as they are now penned) not onely the devesting himself of all Sovereignty, and that without possibility of recovering it, either to Him or His Successours, (except by repeal of those Bills) but also the making His Concessions guilty of the greatest pressures that can be made upon the Subject, as in other particulars, so by giving an arbitrary and unlimited power to the two Houses for ever, to raise and levie forces, for Land or Sea service, of what persons (without distinction or quality) and to what numbers they please. And likewise for the payment of them, to leavy what monies, in such sort, and by such wayes and means (and consequently upon the estates of whatsoever persons) they shall think fit and appoint. Which is utterly inconsistent with the liberty and property of the Subject, and his Majesties trust in protecting them. So that if the Major part of both Houses, shall think it necessary to put the rest of the propositions into Bills; his Majesty leaves all the World to judge, how unsafe it would be for Him to consent thereunto. And if not, what a strange condition (after the passing of these four Bills) his Majesty and all his Subjects would be cast into. And here his Majesty thinks it not unfit, to wish His two Houses to consider well the manner of their proceeding: That when his Majesty desires a personal Treaty with them for the settling of a peace; they in answer, propose the very subject matter of the most essential part thereof to be first granted. A thing which will be hardly credible to posterity. Wherefore his Majesty declares, That neither the desire of being
freed.

freed from this tedious and irksome condition of life his Majesty hath so long suffered, nor the apprehension of what may befall him, in case His two Houses shall not afford Him a personal Treaty, shall make Him change His resolution, of not consenting to any Act, till the whole peace be concluded. Yet then He intends not onely to give just and reasonable satisfaction in the particulars presented to Him; but also to make good all other concessions mentioned in His Message of the 16 of November last. Which he thought would have produced better effects, then what he findes in the Bills and propositions now presented unto him.

And yet his Majesty cannot give over, but now again earnestly presseth for a personal Treaty (so passionately is he affected with the advantages which peace will bring to his Majesty and all his Subjects) of which he will not at all despair, (there being no other visible way to obtain a well-grounded-peace.) However his Majesty is very much at ease within himself, for having fulfilled the offices both of a Christian and of a King; and will patiently wait the good pleasure of Almighty God, to incline the hearts of his two Houses to consider their King, and to compassionate their fellow-Subjects miseries.

*Given at Carisbrook-Castle in the Isle
of Wight, Decemb. 28. 1647.*

*For the Spe. ker of the Lords House
pro tempore, To be communicated
to the Lords and Commons in the
Parliament of England at West-
minster, and the Commissioners of
the Parliament of Scotland.*

His

36.

*His Majesties Message of August 10.
1648. with His Answer to the Votes
for a Treaty at the Isle
of Wight.*

From Carisbrook-Castle.]

C.R.

If the peace of My Dominions were not much dearer to Me, then any particular interest whatsoever; I had too much reason to take notice of the several Votes which passed against Me, and the sad condition I have been in now above these seven moneths. But since you My two Houses of Parliament have opened (as it seems to Me) a fair beginning to a happy peace, I shall heartily apply My self hereunto; and to that end, I will as clearly and shortly as I may, set you down those things which I conceive necessary to this blessed work, so that We together may remove all impediments, that may hinder a happy conclusion

clusion of this Treaty, which with all cheerfulness I do embrace.

And to this wished end, your selves have laid most excellent grounds: for what can I reasonably expect more, then to Treat with Honour, Freedom, and Safety, upon such Propositions as you have or shall present unto Me, and such as I shall make to you? But withall remember, that it is the definition, not names of things which make them rightly known: And that without means to perform, no Proposition can take effect: And truly My present condition is such, that I can no more Treat, then a blinde man judge of colours, or one run a race who hath both his feet fast tied together; wherefore My first necessary demand is,

That you will recall all such Votes and Orders, by which people are frighted from coming, writing, or speaking freely to Me.

Next, that such men of all professions, whom I shall send for, as of necessary use to Me in this Treaty, may be admitted to wait upon Me. In a word, that I may be in the same state of freedom I was in when I was last at *Hampton Court*. And indeed lesse cannot in any reasonable measure make good those offers which you have made Me by your Votes; for how can I treat with Honour, so long as people are terrified with Votes and Orders against coming to speak, or write to Me: And am I honourably treated, so long as there is none about Me (except a Barber who came now with the Commissioners) that ever I named to wait upon Me, Or with Freedom, (until I may call such unto Me of whose services I shall have use in so great and difficult a work.) And for Safety (I speak not of my Person, having no apprehension on that way) how can I judge to make a safe and well-grounded peace, untill I may know (without disguise) the true present state of all My Dominions,
and

and particularly of all those whose Interests are necessarily concerned in the peace of these Kingdoms ? which leads Me naturally to the last necessary demand I shall make for the bringing of this Treaty to a happy end, which is,

That you alone, or you and I joyntly, do invite the *Scots* to send some persons authorized by them to treat upon such propositions, as they shall make ; for certainly the publick and necessary Interesse they have in this great settlement, is so clearly plain to all the World, that I believe no body will deny the necessity of their concurrence in this Treaty, in Order to a durable peace. Wherefore I will onely say, that as I am King of both Nations, so I will yeeld to none in either Kingdom for being truly and zealously affected for the good and honour of both : my resolution being never to be partial for either, to the prejudice of the other.

Now as to the place (because I conceive it to be rather a circumstantial then real part of this Treaty. I shall not much insist upon it) I name *Newport* in this Isle, yet the fervent zeal I have that a speedy end be put to these unhappy distractions, doth force Me earnestly to desire you to consider what a great losse of time it will be to treat so far from the body of My two Houses, when every small debate (of which doubtlesse there will be many) must be transmitted to Westminster before it be concluded : And really I think (though to some it may seem a Paradox) that peoples mindes will be much more apt to settle, seeing me treat in or near *London*, then in this Isle, because so long as I am here, it will never be believed by many, that I am really so free, as before this Treaty begin I expect to be : And so I leave and recommend this point to your serious consideration : And thus I have not onely fully accepted of the Treaty, which you have proposed to Me by your Votes of the third of this moneth ; but also given it
all

all the furtherance that lies in Me, by demanding the necessary means, for the effectual performance thereof: All which are so necessarily implied by, though not particularly mentioned in your Votes, as I can no wayes doubt of your ready compliance with Me herein: I have now no more to say, but to conjure you, by all that is dear to Christians, honest Men or good Patriots, that ye will make all the expedition possible to begin this happy work, by hasting down your Commissioners fully authorized and well instructed, and by enabling Me (as I have shewed you) to treat; praying the God of peace so to blesse our endeavours, that all My Dominions may speedily enjoy a safe and well-grounded peace.

Charls R.

*For the Speaker of the Lords
House pro tempore, to be
communicated to the Lords
and Commons in the Parli-
ament of England at West-
minster.*

His

37.

*His Majesties Message of August 28. 1648.
for some of His Council and others to attend
Him at the Treaty in the Isle of Wight.
From Carisbrook-Castle.*

MY Lord, and Master Speaker, I have received your Letter of the 25 of this moneth, with the Votes that you sent Me, which though they are not so full as I could have wished, for the perfecting of a Treaty; yet because I conceive by what you have done, that I am in some measure fit to begin one (such is My uncessant and earnest desire, to give a peace to these My now distracted Kingdoms as I accept the Treaty;) and therefore desire that such five Lords, and ten Commons, as My two Houses shall appoint, be speedily sent, fully authorized and instructed to treat with Me, not doubting, but what is now wanting, will at Our meeting upon debate bee fully supplied, not onely to the furtherance of this Treaty, but also of the consummating of a safe and well-grounded peace.

So I rest, Your good Friend,

CHARLS R.

Here

Here inclosed is a List of the names of such persons as I desire.

Gentlemen of My Bed-chamber. Duke Richmond, Marquis Hartford, Earl Lindsey, Earl Southampton. *Grooms of My Bed-chamber.* George Kirk, James Leviston, Henry Murry, Jo. Ashburnham, William Leg, Thomas Davise, Barber. *Pages of My back stairs.* Hugh Hin, Humphrey Rogers, William Levett. *Rives Yeoman of My Robes.* *Querries, with 4 or 5 of My footmen, as they finde fittest to wait.* Sir Edward Sydenham, Robert Terwit, Jo. Housden. *Mistresse Wheeler, Landresse, with such Maids as she shall choose.* Parsons, *A Groom of the presence.* Sir Fulke Grevel, Captain Titus, Captain Burrowes, Mr. Cresset, Hansted, Abraham Douset, Firebrasse. *To wait as they did, or as I shall appoint them.* Bishop of London, Bishop of Sarum, Doctor Sheldon, Doctor Hamond, Doctor Oldsworth, Doctor Sanderson, Doctor Turner, Doctor Heywood. *Lawyers.* Sir Thomas Gardner, Sir Orlando Bridgeman, Sir Robert Holborne, Mr. Jes. Palmer, Mr. Thomas Cooke, Mr. James Vaughan. *Clerks and Writers.* Sir Edward Walker, Mr. Philip Warwick, Nicholas Oudart, Charles Whittaker. *To make ready the house for Treaty.* Peter Newton, Clem. Kinersley.

I desire in order to one of your Votes, that you would send Me a free passe for Parsons, one of the Grooms of My presence Chamber to go into Scotland, that you would immediatly send him to Me, to receive the dispatch thither.

For the Earl of Manchester, Speaker of the House of Peers pro tempore, and William Lenthal, Speaker of the House of Commons.

His

38.

*His Majesties Message concerning the time
of the Treaty, and for two Doctors of the
Civil Law to attend His Majesty. Sept.
7. 1648. Carisbrook-Castle.*

My Lord, and Mr. Speaker,

I Have received your Letter of the second of this
moneth, containing the names of those who are
to treat with Me, and though they do not come at
the time appointed, I shall not wonder at first,
judging it too short, in respect of My two Houses, not
of My self, so that I did not imagine it could be kept,
(as I then commanded Sir *Peter Killegrew*, to tell
you by word of mouth) and therefore it shall be far
from Me to take exceptions for their having elapsed
the appointed time, for God forbid that either My
two Houses or I should carp at circumstances, to give
the least impediment to this Treaty, much lesse to
hinder the happy finishing of it: I say this the rather,
because I know not how it is possible (in this I shall
wish to be deceived) that in forty dayes Treaty, the
many distractions of these Kingdoms can be settled;
and if so, it were more then strange, that time enough
should not be given for the perfecting of this most
great and good work, which as I will not believe can
be stuck on by the two Houses, so I am sure it shall
never be, by

Your good Friend,

Carisbrook 7. Sept. 1648.

Charls R.

I think fit to tell you, because I believe in this Treaty there will be need of Civil Lawyers, I have sent for my Advocate *Rives* and *D. Duck*.

For the Lord Hunfdon Speaker of the House of Peers pro tempore, and William Lenthal Speaker of the House of Commons.

39.

His Majesties Message for four Bishops and two Doctors of Divinity to attend His Majesty, Novemb. 2. 1648. Newport.

The names of the Bishops and Doctors desired by His Majesty to be sent to Him, Nov. 2. 1648. enclosed in a Letter from one of the Commissioners for the Parliament.

C. R.

THe Bishop of *Armath*, the Bishop of *Exeter*, the Bishop of *Rocheſter*, the Bishop of *Worceſter*, *Dr. Fearne*, *Dr. Morley*.

His

40.

*His Majesties Message of Septemb. 29. 1648.
contaiiaing His Concessions. Newport.*

HIS Majesty did use many earnest endeavours for a personal Treaty, which He hoped might have been obtained at Westminster, between Him and His two Houses of Parliament immediatly ; yet they having made choice of this way by you their Commissioners, his Majesty did gladly and cheerfully accept thereof in this place , as a fit means to begin a Treaty for a peace , which might put an end to His own sad condition , and the miseries of His Kingdom : For an entrance whereunto, his Majesty hath already expressed His consent to the first Proposition : But finding you are limited by Instructions which you have no warrant to communicate unto Him : And having cause by your paper of the 20 of this present to believe, that you have no power to omit or alter any thing, though He shall give you such reasons as may satisfie you so to do, without transmitting the papers to the two Houses at a far distance, where his Majesties reasons, expressions, and offers upon debate cannot be fully represented, and from whence their answers cannot be returned without much waste of the time allotted for the Treaty here : And having lately received another paper concerning the Church, containing in it self many particulars of great importance , and referring to divers Ordinances, Articles of Religion, and other things (11 or 12 in number) of great length, and some of them very new, and never before presented to his Majesty : The due consideration whereof will take up much time, and require his Majesties presence with His two Houses before a full resolution can well be had in matters

matters of so high consequence ; to the end therefore that the good work now in hand may (by Gods blessing) proceed more speedily and effectually to an happy conclusion ; and that His two Houses of Parliament may at present have further security, and an earnest of future satisfaction : His Majesty upon consideration had of yours, makes these propositions following.

Concerning the Church.

HIS Majesty will consent that the calling and sitting of the Assembly of Divines at *Westminster* be confirmed for three years by Act of Parliament.

And will by Act of Parliament confirm for three years the Directory for the publick worship of God in the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, and Dominion of *Wales*.

And will likewise confirm for three years by Act of Parliament the form of Church Government which ye have presented to Him, to be used for the Churches of *England* and *Ireland*, and Dominion of *Wales* ; provided, that His Majesty, and those of His judgement, or any others who cannot in conscience submit thereunto, be not in the mean time obliged to comply with the same Government or form of worship, but have free practice of their own profession. And that a free consultation and debate be had with the Assembly of Divines of *Westminster* in the mean time, (20 of His Majesties nomination being added unto them) whereby it may be determined by His Majesty & His two Houses of Parliament how the said Church Government and form of publick worship after the said time may be settled, or sooner, if differences may be agreed. And how also Reformation of Religion may be settled within the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, and the Dominion of *Wales*. And the Articles of Christian Religion now delivered to Him may in like manner be then considered of & determined, and care taken for the ease of tender consciences.

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And

And concerning the Bishops lands and revenues, His Majesty considering that during these troublesome times divers of His Subjects have made contracts and purchases, and divers have disbursed great sums of monies upon security and engagement of those Lands; His Majesty for their satisfaction, will consent to an Act or Acts of Parliament, whereby legal estates for lives or for years (at their choice) not exceeding 99 years shall be made of those lands towards the satisfaction of the said Purchasers, Contractors, and others to whom they are engaged, at the old Rents, or some other moderate Rent, whereby they may receive satisfaction.

And in case such Lease shall not satisfie, his Majesty will propound and consent to some other way, for their further satisfaction.

Provided that the propriety and inheritance of those Lands may still remain and continue to the Church and Church-men respectively, according to the pious intentions of the Donors and Founders thereof: And the rent that shall be reserved to be for their maintenance.

His Majesty will give His Royal assent for the better observation of the Lords-day; For suppressing of Innovations in Churches and Chappels, in and about the worship of God, and for the better advancement of the preaching of Gods holy Word in all parts of this Kingdom. And to an Act against enjoying pluralities of Benefices by Spiritual persons, and Nonresidency. And to an Act for regulating and reforming both Universities, and the Colledges of *Westminster, Winchester, and Eaton.*

His Majesty will consent to an Act for the better discovery and speedy conviction of Popish Recusants, as is desired in your propositions; And also to an Act for the education of the children of Papists by Protestants in the Protestant Religion.

As also to an Act for the true levying of the penalties

ties against Papists, to be levied and disposed in such manner as both Houses shall agree on, and as is proposed on His Majesties behalf.

And also to an Act to prevent the practises of Papists against the State. And for putting the Laws in execution. And for a stricter course to prevent hearing and saying of Masse.

But, as to the Covenant, His Majesty is not yet therein satisfied, that He can either signe or swear it, or consent to impose it on the consciences of others. Nor doth conceive it proper or useful at this time to be insisted on.

Touching the *Militia*, His Majesty conceives that your proposition demands a far larger power over the persons and estates of His Subjects, then hath ever hitherto been warranted by the Laws and Statutes of this Realm; yet considering the present distractions require more, and trusting in His two Houses of Parliament that they will make no further use of the power therein mentioned, after the present distempers settled, then shall be agreeable to the legal exercise thereof in times past, or just necessity shall require, His Majesty will consent to an Act of Parliament.

That the Lords and Commons in the Parliament of *England* now assembled, or hereafter to be assembled, or such as they shall appoint during the space of ten years, shall arm, train, and discipline, or cause to be armed, trained, or disciplined, all the Forces of the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, and Dominion of *Wales*, the Isles of *Gernesey* and *Gersey*, and the Town of *Berwick* upon *Tweed*, already raised both for Sea & Land service; and shall from time to time during the space of ten years raise, levy, arm, train and discipline, or cause to be raised, levied, armed, trained and disciplined any other forces for land and Sea service in the Kingdoms, Dominions, and places aforesaid, as in their judgements they shall from time to

time during the said space of ten years think fit to appoint, and that neither the King, His Heirs or Successours, or any other but such as shall act by the authority, or approbation of the said Lords and Commons, shall during the said space of ten years exercise any of the powers aforesaid.

That monies be raised and levied for the maintenance and use of the said Forces for Land service, and of the Navy and Forces for Sea service, in such sort, and by such wayes and means as the said Lords and Commons shall from time to time during the said space of ten years think fit and appoint, and not otherwise.

That all the said Forces both for Land and Sea service so raised or levied, or to be raised or levied; and also the Admiralty and Navy shall from time to time during the said space of ten years be employed, managed, ordered and disposed by the Lords and Commons in such sort, and by such wayes and means as they shall think fit and appoint, and not otherwise.

And the said Lords and Commons, or such as they shall appoint, during the said space of ten years shall have power.

TO suppress all Forces raised, or to be raised, without authority and consent of the said Lords and Commons, to the disturbance of the publick peace of the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, Dominion of *Wales*, the Isles of *Gernesey* and *Gersey*, and the Town of *Barwick* upon *Tweed*, or any of them.

2. To suppress any Forraign Forces who shall invade, or endeavour to invade the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, Dominion of *Wales*, the Isles of *Gernesey* and *Gersey*, and the Town of *Barwick* upon *Tweed*, or any of them.

And after the expiration of the said ten years, neither the King, His Heirs or Successors, or any person or persons by colour or pretence of any Commission, power, deputation, or authority to be derived from the

the King, His Heirs or Successours, or any of them, shall without the consent of the said Lords and Commons, raise, arm, train, discipline, imploy, order, manage, disband, or dispose any the Forces by Sea or Land, of the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, the Dominion of *Wales*, Isles of *Gernesey* and *Gersey*, and the Town of *Barwick* upon *Tweed*. Nor exercise any of the said powers or authorities herein before mentioned, and expressed to be during the space of ten years in the said Lords and Commons: Nor do any act, or any thing concerning the execution of the said powers or authorities, or any of them, without the consent of the said Lords and Commons first had and obtained.

And with the same proviso's for saving the ordinary legal power of officers of justice, not being Military Officers, as is set down in your propositions.

And with a Declaration, That if any persons shall be gathered and assembled together, in a warlike manner, or otherwise, to the number of thirty persons, and shall not forthwith disperse themselves, being required thereto by the said Lords and Commons, or command from them, or any by them, especially authorized for that purpose; then such person or persons not so dispersing themselves, shall be guilty, and incur the pains of high Treason; being first declared guilty of such offence, by the said Lords & Commons: any Commission under the Great Seal, or other Warrant to the contrary, notwithstanding. And he or they that shall so offend herein, to be incapable of any pardon from His Majesty, His Heirs or Successours.

And likewise that it be provided that the City of *London* shall have and enjoy all their rights, liberties, &c. in raising and imploying the Forces of that City, in such sort as is mentioned in the said proposition.

With these provisos following to be inserted in the said Act.

1. **T**Hat none be compelled to serve in the war against their wils, but in case of coming in of strange enemies into this Kingdom.

And that the powers above mentioned, as concerning the Land Forces, other then for keeping up and maintenance of Forts, and Garrisons, and the keeping up, maintaining, and pay of this present Army, so long as it shall be thought fit by both Houses of Parliament, be exercised to no other purposes then for the suppressing of Forces raised or to be raised, without authority and consent of the said Lords and Commons as afore^{said}, or for suppressing of any Forraign Forces which shall invade, or endeavour to invade the Kingdoms, Dominions or places afore^{said}.

And that the monies be raised by general and equal Taxations, saving that Tonnage and Poundage, and such Imposts as have been applied to the Navy, be raised as hath been usual.

And that all Patents, Commissions, and other Acts concerning the premises, be made and Acted in his Majesties name by Warrant, signified by the Lords and Commons, or such others as they shall authorise for that purpose.

If it shall be made satisfactory to His two Houses to have the Militia, and powers thereupon depending, during the whole time of his Majesties reign, rather then for the space of ten years, His Majesty gives them the election.

Touching Ireland, His Majesty having in the two preceding propositions given His consent concerning the Church, & the Militia there in all things, as in England: As to all other matters relating to the Kingdom, after advice with His two Houses, He will leave it to their determination, and give His consent accordingly, as is herein hereafter expressed.

Touching publick debts, His Majesty will give His
consent

consent to such an Act, for raising of monies by general and equal Taxations, for the payment and satisfying the Arrears of the Army, publick debts and engagements of the Kingdom, as shall be agreed on by both Houses of Parliament, and shall be audited and ascertained by them, or such persons as they shall appoint, within the space of twelve moneths, after the passing of an Act for the same.

His Majesty will consent to an Act, that during the said space of ten years the Lord Chancellor, or Lord Keeper, Commissioners of the great Seal, or Treasury, Lord Warden of the Cinque-ports, Chancellor of the Exchequer and Dutchy, Secretaries of State, Master of the Rolls, Judges of both Benches, and Barons of the Exchequer of *England*, be nominated by both Houses of the Parliament of *England* to continue *quam diu se bene gesserint*: And in the intervals of Parliament, by such others as they shall authorize for that purpose.

His Majesty will consent that the *Militia* of the City of *London* and Liberties thereof, during the space of ten years, may be in the ordering and government of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons in the Common-Counsel assembled, or such as they shall from time to time appoint, (whereof the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs for the time being to be three) to be employed and directed from time to time, during the said space of ten years, in such manner as shall be agreed upon, and appointed by both Houses of Parliament. And that no Citizen of the City of *London*, nor any of the Officers of the said City shall be drawn forth, or compelled to go out of the said City or Liberties thereof, for Military service, without their own free consent.

That an Act be passed for granting and confirming the Charters, Customes, Liberties, and Franchises of the City of *London*, notwithstanding any *Nonuser*, *Misuser*, or *Abuser*.

And that during the said ten years, the Tower of London may be in the government of the City of London, and the chief Officer and Gouvernour from time to time during the said space to be nominated, and removeable by the Common-counsel, as are desired in your propositions.

His Majesty having thus far expressed his consent for the present satisfaction and security of His two Houses of Parliament, and those that have adhered unto them, touching your four first propositions, and other the particulars before specified: As to all the rest of your propositions delivered to him at *Hampton Court*, (not referring to those heads) and to that of the Court of Wards since delivered; as also to the remaining propositions concerning *Ireland*; His Majesty desires onely when he shall come to *Westminster* Personally to advise with His two Houses, and to deliver his opinion, and the reasons of it; which being done, He will leave the whole matter of those remaining propositions to the determination of His two Houses, which shall prevail with Him for His consent accordingly.

And His Majesty doth (for His own particular) onely propose that He may have Liberty to repair forthwith to *Westminster*, and be restored to a condition of absolute freedom and safety, (a thing which He shall never deny to any of His Subjects,) and to the possession of His Lands and Revenues; And that an Act of Oblivion, and Indempnity may passe, to extend to all persons, for all matters relating to the late unhappy differences: which being agreed by His two Houses of Parliament, His Majesty will be ready to make these His Concessions binding, by giving them the force of Laws by His Royal assent.

His

I.

*His Majesties Declaration to all His people
Jan. 18. 1647. from Carisbrook-Castle,
after the Votes of No Addresse.*

AM I thus laid aside, and must I not speak for Myself? No! I will speak, and that to all My people, (which I would have rather done, by the way of My two Houses of Parliament, but that there is a publick order, neither to make addresses to, or receive Messages from Me,) and who but you can be judge of the differences betwixt Me, and My two Houses? I know none else; for I am sure, you it is, who will enjoy the happinesse, or feel the misery, of good or ill Government; and we all pretend who should run fastest to serve you; without having a regard (at least in the first place) to particular interests: And therefore I desire you to consider the state I am, and have been in, this long time, and whether My actions have more tended to the publick, or My own particular good; for whosoever will look upon Me barely as I am Man; without that liberty (which the meanest of My Subjects enjoyes) of going whither, and conversing with whom I will: As a Husband and Father, without the comfort of My Wife & children; or lastly, as a King, without the least shew of authority or power, to protect My distressed Subjects; must conclude Me, not onely void of all natural Affection, but also to want common understanding; if I should not most cheerfully embrace the readiest way, to the settlement of these distracted Kingdoms: As also on the other side, do but consider the form and draught of the Bills lately presented unto Mee, and as they are the conditions of a Treaty, ye will conclude,

that the same spirit which hath still been able to frustrate all my sincere and constant endeavours for peace, hath had a powerful influence on this Message; for though I was ready to grant the substance, and comply with what they seem to desire; yet as they had framed it, I could not agree thereunto, without deeply wounding my conscience and honour, and betraying the trust reposed in me, by abandoning my people to the Arbitrary and unlimited power of the two Houses for ever, for the leavying and maintaining of Land or Sea Forces, without distinction of quality, or limitation for money taxes: And if I could have passed them in terms; how unheard of a condition were it for a Treaty, to grant before hand the most considerable part of the subject matter? How ineffectual were that debate like to prove, wherein the most potent party had nothing of moment left to ask, and the other nothing more to give? So consequently, how hopelesse of mutual compliance? Without which, a settlement is impossible: Besides, if after my concessions, the two Houses should insist on those things, from which I cannot depart; how desperate would the condition of these Kingdoms be, when the most proper and approved remedy should become ineffectual? Being therefore fully resolved that I could neither in conscience, honour, or prudence, passe those four Bills,; I onely endeavour'd to make the Reasons and Justice of my Denyal appear to all the World, as they do to me, intending to give as little dissatisfaction to the two Houses of Parliament, (without betraying my own cause) as the matter would bear: I was desirous to give my answer, of the 28 of December last, to the Commissioners sealed, (as I had done others heretofore, and sometimes at the desire of the Commissioners) chiefly, because when my Messages or Answers were publickly known, before they were read in the Houses; prejudicial interpretations were forced on them,

them, much differing, and sometimes contrary to my meaning. For example, my answer from *Hampton-Court*, was accused of dividing the two Nations, because I promised to give satisfaction to the *Scots*, in all things concerning that Kingdom: And this last suffers in a contrary sense, by making me intend to interest *Scotland* in the Laws of this Kingdom, (then which nothing was, nor is, further from my thoughts) because I took notice of the *Scots* Commissioners protesting against the Bills and propositions, as contrary to the interests and engagements of the two Kingdoms: Indeed, if I had not mentioned their dissent; an Objection, not without some probability, might have been made against me, both in respect the *Scots* are much concern'd in the Bill for the *Militia*, and in several other Propositions; and my silence might, with some justice, have seemed to approve of it: But the Commissioners refusing to receive my answer sealed, I (upon the engagement of their, and the Governours honour, that no other use should be made, or notice taken of it, then as if it had not bin seen) read and delivered it open unto them; Whereupon, what hath since passed, either by the Governour, in discharging most of my Servants, redoubling the Guards, and restraining me of my former liberty, (and all this, as himself confest, meerly out of his own dislike of my answer, notwithstanding his before said engagement) or afterwards, by the two Houses, (as the Governour affirms) in confining me within the circuit of this Castle, I appeal to God and the World, whether my said answer deserved the reply of such proceedings: besides the unlawfulnessse for Subjects to imprison their King: That, by the permission of Almighty God, I am reduced to this sad condition; as I no way repine, so I am not without hope, but that the same God, will, in due time, convert these afflictions into my advantage: in the mean time I am confident to bear these crosses with

patience.

patience and equality of minde : but by what means or occasion I am come to this Relapse in my affairs, I am utterly to seek, especially when I consider, that I have sacrificed to my two Houses of Parliament, for the Peace of the Kingdom, all, but, what is much more dear to me then my Life, My Conscience and Honour ; desiring nothing more then to perform it, in the most proper and natural way, A Personal Treatie. But that which makes me most at a losse, is, the remenibring my signal compliance with the Armie, and their interests ; and of what importance my compliance was to them, and their often repeated Professions and Ingagemements, for my just Rights, in general, at *Newmarket* and *S. Albans* ; and their particular explanation of those generals, by their Voted and Re-voted Proposals ; which I had Reason to understand should be the uttermost extremitie would be expected from me, and that, in some things therein, I should be eased ; (herein appealing to the Consciences of some of the chiefeft Officers in the Army, if what I have said be not punctually true) and how I have failed of their expectations, or my professions to them ; I challenge them and the whole World to produce the least colour of Reason. And now I would know, what is it that is desired : Is it Peace ? I have shewed the way (being both willing, and desirous to perform my part in it) which is, a just compliance with all chief interests : Is it Plenty and Happinesse ? they are the inseparable effects of peace : Is it Security ? I, who wish that all men would forgive and forget like Me, have offered the *Militia* for my Is it time : Liberty of Conscience ? He who wants it, is most ready to give it : Is it the right administration of Justice ? Officers of trust are committed to the choice of my two Houses of Parliament : Is it frequent Parliaments ? I have legally, fully concurred therewith : Is it the Arrears of the Army ? Upon a settlement, they will certainly be payed with much ease ; but before

fore, there will be found much difficulty, if not impossibility in it.

Thus all the World cannot but see my real and unwearied endeavours for peace, the which (by the Grace of God) I shall never repent me of, nor ever be slackned in, notwithstanding my past, present, or future sufferings; but if I may not be heard, let every one judge, who it is that obstructs the good I would, or might do: What is it that men are afraid to hear from me? It cannot be Reason, (at least, none will declare themselves so unreasonable, as to confesse it) and it can lesse be, impertinent or unreasonable Discourses; for thereby, peradventure I might more justifie this my Restraint, then the Causers themselves can do; so that, of all wonders yet this is the greatest to me: but it may be easily gathered how those men intend to govern, who have used me thus: And if it be my hard Fate to fall together with the Liberry of this Kingdom, I shall not blush for my self, but much lament the future miseries of my People; the which I shall still pray to God to avert; what ever becomes of Me.

C. R.

His

2.

His Majesties Declaration, concerning the Treaty, and His dislike of the Armies proceedings, delivered by His Majesty to one of His Servants at His departure from the Isle of Wight, commanded to be published for satisfaction of all His Subjects. Anno 1648.

When large pretences prove but the shadows of weak performances, then the greatest labours produce the smallest effects: and when a period is put to a work of great concernment, all mens ears do (as it were) hunger till they are satisfied in their expectations. Hath not this distracted Nation groaned a long time under the burden of tyranny and oppression? and hath not all the blood that hath been spilt these seven years been cast upon my head, who am the greatest sufferer, though the least guilty? And was it not requisite to endeavour the stopping of that flux, which, if not stopt, will bring an absolute destruction to this Nation? And what more speedy way was there to consummate those distractions then by a *personal Treaty*, being agreed upon by My two Houses of Parliament, and condescended to by Me? And I might declare, that I conceive it had been the best physick, had not the operation been hindered by the interposition of this imperious Army, who were so audacious as to stile Me in their unparallel'd Remonstrance, *their capital Enemy*: but let the World judge, whether mine endeavours have not been attended with reality in this late Treaty; and whether I was not as ready to grant, as they were to ask, and yet all this is not satisfaction to them that pursue

pursue their owne ambitious ends more then the welfare of a miserable Land. Were not the dying hearts of my poor distressed people much revived with the hopes of a happinesse from this Treaty? and how suddenly are they frustrated in their expectations! Have not I formerly beene condemned for yeelding too little to My two Houses of Parliament; and shall I now be condemned for yeelding too much? Have I not formerly been imprisoned for making war, and shall I now be condemned for making peace? Have I not formerly ruled like a KING, and shall I now be ruled like a Slave? Have I not formerly enjoyed the society of My dear Wife and Children in peace and quietnesse; and shall I now neither enjoy them, nor peace? Have not My Subjects formerly obeyed Me, and shall I now be obedient to my Subjects? Have I not been condemned for Evill Counsellours, and shall I now be condemned for having no Council but God? These are unutterable miseries, that the more I endeavour for peace, the lesse My endeavours are respected: and how shall I know hereafter what to grant, when your selves know not what to aske? I refer it to your consciences, whether I have not satisfied your desires in every particular since this Treaty; if you finde I have not, then let Me bear the burden of the fault: but if I have given you ample satisfaction (as I am sure I have) then you are bound to vindicate Me from the fury of those whose thoughts are fill'd with blood: though they pretend zeal, yet they are but Wolves in Sheeps cloathing.

I must further declare, that I conceive there is nothing can more obstruct the long hoped for peace of this Nation, then the illegall proceedings of them that presume from Servants to become Masters, and labour to bring in Democracy, and to abolish Monarchy. Needs must the total alteration of fundamentals be, not only destructive to others, but in
conclusion

conclusion to themselves : for they that endeavour to rule by the sword shall at last fall by it; for faction is the Mother of Ruine : and it is the humour of those who are of this Weathercock-like disposition to love nothing but mutabilities, neither will that please them but onely *pro tempore*, for the too much variety doth but confound the senses, and makes them still hate one folly, and fall in love with another.

Time is the best cure for Faction ; for it will at length (like a spreading leprosie) infect the whole body of the Kingdom, and make it so odious, that at last they will hate themselves for love of that, and, like the Fish, for love of the bait, be catch'd with the hook.

I once more declare to all my loving Subjects, and God knowes whether or no this may be My last, that I have earnestly laboured for peace, and that My thoughts were sincere and absolute, without any sinister ends, and there was nothing left undone by Me that My Conscience would permit Me to do. And I call God to witnesse that I doe firmly conceive that the interposition of the Army (that cloud of malice) hath altogether eclipsed the glory of that peace which began again to shine in this Land. And let the world judge whether it be expedient for an Army to contradict the Votes of a Kingdom, endeavouring, by pretending for Lawes and Liberties, to subvert both. Such actions as these must produce strange consequences, and set open the flood-gates of ruin to overflow this Kingdome in a moment. Had this Treaty been onely Mine owne seeking, then they might have had fairer pretences to have stopt the course of it ; but I being importun'd by my two Houses, and they by most part of the Kingdom, could not but with a great deal of alacrity concur with them in their desires, for the performance of so commodious a work : and I hope by this time that the hearts and
eyes

eyes of My people are opened so much that they plainly discover who are the underminers of this Treaty.

For mine owne part, I here protest before the face of Heaven, that mine owne afflictions (though they need no addition) afflict Me not so much as My peoples sufferings : for, I know what to trust to already, and they know not : God comfort both them and Me, and proportion our patience to our sufferings !

And when the malice of Mine Enemies is spun out to the smallest thred, let them know, that I will, by the grace of God, be as contented to suffer, as they are active to advance My sufferings : and Mine owne soule tels Me, that the time will come, when the very clouds shall drop down vengeance upon the heads of those that barrocado themselves against the proceedings of peace : for, if God hath proclaimed a blessing to the peace-makers, needs must the peace-breakers draw down curses upon their heads.

I thank My God I have armed my self against their fury : and now let the arrows of their envy flie at Me, I have a brest to receive them, and a heart posselt with patience to sustain them : for God is My Rock and My shield ; therefore I will not feare what man can doe unto Me. I will expect the worst, and if any thing happen beyond My expectation, I will give God the glory : for vain is the help of man.

His

LETTERS

Written by
His MAJESTY

To several Persons since the beginning
of this PARLIAMENT, Here-
tofore published at several times,
and now collected into
one Body.

Together with those intercepted Letters
published by the PARLIAMENT, before
which is prefixed His MAJESTIES
Letter to Secretary NICHOLAS con-
cerning the publishing of them ; and part
of one of His MAJESTIES Decla-
rations concerning the same.

His

I:

*To the House of Peers about the Reprieve of
the Earl of Strafford, sent by the Prince,
May 11. 1641. from White-hall.*

My Lords,

I Did yesterday satisfie the Justice of the Kingdom by passing of the Bill of Attainder against the Earl of Strafford; but mercy being as inherent, and inseparable to a King as justice: I desire at this time in some measure to shew, that, likewise by suffering that unfortunate man to fulfil the natural course of his life in a close imprisonment; yet so, that if ever he make the least offer to escape, or offer directly, or indirectly to meddle in any sort of publick businesse; especially with Me, either by Message, or Letter, it shall cost him his life without further processe. This, if it may be done without the discontentment of My people, will be an unspeakable contentment to Me

To which end, as in the first place, I by this Letter do earnestly desire your approbation, and to endear it the more, have chosen him to carry it, that of all your House is most dear to Me. So I desire that by a conference, you will endeavour to give the House of Commons contentment: Likewise assuring you, that the exercise of mercy is no more pleasing to me, then to see both Houses of Parliament consent for my sake, that I should moderate the severity of the Law, in so important a case.

I will not say that your complying with Me, in this My intended mercy, shall make Me more willing, but certainly it will make Me more cheerful in granting your just grievances. But if no lesse then his life can
satisfie

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satisfie My people, I must say *fiat justitia*. Thus again recommending the consideration of my intentions to you, I rest.

Whitehall May 11. 1641.

Your unalterable and affectionate friend,

Charles R.

If he must dye, it were charity to reprieve him till Satterday.

2.

To the Lord Keeper, about Mr. Attourney General, March 4. 1641. From Royston.

C. R.

Right trusty and well beloved Councillour, We greet you well, and have thought good hereby to certifie that We did the third of January last, deliver to Our Attourney certain Articles of Accusation ingrossed in paper, a copy whereof We have sent here inclosed; and did then command him in Our Name, to acquaint Our House of Peers, that divers great and trasonable designs and practises against Us and the State had come to Our knowledge for which We commanded him, in Our Name to accuse the six persons in the said paper mentioned of High Treason, and other high misdemeanours by delivering

ring the paper to Our said House, and to desire to have it read, and further, to desire in Our Name, that a select Committee of Lords, might be appointed to take the examinations of such witnesses as We would produce, and as formerly had been done in cases of like nature, according to the justice of the House, and the Committee to be under a command of secrecy as formerly, and further in Our Name to ask liberty, to adde and alter if there should be cause: We do further declare that Our said Attourney, did not advise or contrive the said Articles, nor had any thing to do with, or in advising any breach of Priviledge that followed after. And for what he did in obedience to Our commands, We conceive he was bound by oath, and the duty of his place, and by the trust by Us reposed in him so to do: And had he refused to obey Us herein, We would have questioned him for breach of Oath, Duty, and Trust.

But now having declared, that we finde cause wholly to desist from proceeding against the persons accused, We have commanded him to proceed no further therein, nor to produce nor discover any proof concerning the same.

*Given at Royston the fourth of
March 1641.*

To

3.

*To the Lord Keeper about the Lord Admiral,
March 21. 1642. From York.*

Right trusty and well beloved Councillour, We greet you well, We wonder both at the form and matter of that inclosed paper, ye sent Us (in the name of both Houses of Parliament, in yours of the 28 of March) it being neither by way of Petition, Declaration, or Letter; and for the matter We believe it is the first time that the Houses of Parliament have taken upon them the nomination, or recommendation of the chief Sea-commander; but it adds to the wonder, that Sir John Pennington being already appointed by Us for that service, upon the recommendation of our Admiral (which is so well known, that none can be ignorant of it) and no fault so much as alleaged against him, another should be recommended to Us: Therefore Our resolution upon this point is, that We will not alter him, whom We have already appointed to command this years Fleet whose every way sufficiency is so universally known, the which We are confident Our Admiral (if there shall be occasion) will make most evident, (against whose testimony We suppose Our Parliament will not except) And though there were yet none appointed, or the said Sir John (through some accident) not able to perform the service, yet the men of that profession are so well known to Us (besides many other reasons) that (Our Admiral excepted because of his place) recommendations of that kinde would not be acceptable to Us.

Given at Our Court at York March 31. 1642

To

4.

*To the Mayor of Hull April 25. 1642.**From York.*

TRuſty and well beloved, We greet you well,
Whereas We have been long ſenſible of the juſt complaints and great burdens of Our Subjects in theſe Northern parts, by occaſion of the Garriſon in Our Town of *Hull*; And whereas We were upon Friday the 22 of this Moneth Petitioned by divers of the Gentry, and others, inhabitants of this County, That the munition at *Hull* might remain in the Magazine there, for the ſecurity of Our perſon, and of all theſe Northern parts, their fear being much grounded upon the Parliaments relations of Horrain Invaſions: Upon which, the more to expreſſe Our care of Our peoples ſafety, We did Our Self go in perſon to that Our Town, that upon Our own view, We might conſult what proportion of it might be fitly removed upon any preſſing occaſion, having a reſpect to the promiſed ſupply for *Scotland*; the neceſſary uſe of arms for *Ireland*, as well as for the ſafeguard & ſatiſfaction of theſe Northern parts. But much contrary to Our expectation, and the duty and allegiance of Our Subjects, We found the gates of that Our Town ſhut, and the Bridges drawn up againſt Us: And though We came in a peaceable way, reſoſing the greateſt confidence in the love and loyalty of Our people, by offering (as We did) to put Our own perſon, and Our two Sons, but with twenty horſe, into that Town, there being in it a Garriſon of about eight hundred Souldiers; Yet We were not onely denied entrance, but in a warlike manner oppoſed by Sir *John Hotham*, the armed men being placed in all the Ports, and about all the Walls of the Town, alleaging (though falſely) for his excuſe, The Com-
mand

mand of the Parliament, and being pressed by Us to shew such an Order in writing, he could not do it; for We were ever very confident that there was never any publick order of theirs, that could so much as imply a denial to Our admission; We knowing well enough, that he was entrusted by them for a guard and security of that place against Forraign Enemies, or those at home who are disaffected in Religion, and not against His natural Sovereign; which hostile Opposition and actual levying of War against Our person, being by the statute of 25 *Ed. 3.* enacted High Treason: Which statute considered, and that for the avoiding of all jealousies, as We have said, We were content to have been admitted with so very small a number in Our company, We were thereupon constrained to proclaim the said Sir *John Hotham*, and all those that should adhere to, or assist him, Traitors. Of all which abovesaid passages, We have acquainted Our Parliament, demanding justice to be done upon him, that they might thereby have opportunity to vindicate the imputation laid on them by Sir *John Hotham*, and We the easier way to chastise, according to the Law, so high a Treason. And lest a misunderstanding of Our intentions, or of the Law may misguide any of Our loyal and well affected Subjects, the Inhabitants, Captains, Officers, or Souldiers in that Town, We have thought fit to commend to your consideration the aforesaid statute, with that of the 11 of *Hen. 7. chap. 1.*

Wherein it is declared, by the unanimous assent of Parliament, *That the Subjects of this Realm are bound by the duty of Allegiance, to serve the King, for the time being, for the defence of his person and the Land, against every Rebellion, Might, or power, raised against Him, and with His Majesty to enter or abide in service, in battel, if cause so require. And it was therefore then enacted, That from thenceforth no person whatsoever shall attend upon the King or be in place, by His command,*
within

within or without the Land, That for the same deed and true service of Allegiance, he and they be no wayes attaint or conviēt of high Treason, or of other offences for that cause, by any processe of Law, whereby he, or any of them shall lose or forfeit lives, Lands, tenements, goods, or any thing; but be for that deed and service utterly discharged of any vexation, trouble, or losse: And if any Act or Acts, of other processe of Law thereupon for the same happen to be made contrary to this Ordinance, that then that Act or Acts, or other processe of the Law whatsoever they shall be, stand and be utterly void.

All which, together with the copies of Our Message and Petition (which We send here inclosed) We require you to publish to the Inhabitants, and all such Commanders and Souldiers as will hear them: That knowing both the peril of the Law on the one side, and the security of such as shall adhere to Us on the other they be not misled (through ignorance) to decline their allegiance: And that the Souldiers may lay down their arms, and admit Our entrance in a peaceable way. In so doing you shall both discharge your duties, and those that shall have need, be assured to finde (upon such their submission) Our ready mercy and pardon. And We do likewise require and charge all you, the Inhabitants (as well Souldiers as others) upon your allegiance, That you permit not any part of Our Magazine or Munition to be removed or transported out of that Town under any pretence of Order or power whatsoever, without Our Royal assent in writing under Our hand. Assuring you, that it will be much more pleasing to Us to have occasion administred by the fidelity of the Inhabitants to enlarge those graces and immunities granted to that Town by Our Predecessours, then to have any occasion to question your Charter.

Given at Our Court at York, the 25 of April. 1642.

5.

*To the High Sheriff of Yorkshire, May 5.
1642. From York.*

TRusty and well beloved, We greet you well :
Whereas We understand, that Sir *John Hotham* takes upon him (without any legal authority or power) to issue Warrants to Constables, and other Our Officers, to raise divers of Our Trained Bands of this Our Countrey, and requires them to march with their arms, & to come into Our Town of *Hull*, where he hath disarmed divers of them, keeps their arms, and discharges the men, and whereas We are credibly informed, that divers persons who were lately Colonels, Lieutenant-Colonels, Captains, and Officers of the Trained Bands of this Our County, intend shortly to summon, and endeavour to muster the forces of this Our County : For as much as by the Law of the Land, none of Our Trained Bands are to be raised or mustered, upon any pretence or authority whatsoever, but by special warrant under Our own hand, or by a legal Writ directed to the Sheriff of the County, or by Warrant from the Lord Lieutenant, or Deputy Lieutenants of the County, appointed and authorized by Commission under Our Great Seal. And whereas at present there is no Lord Lientenant or Deputy Lieutenant legally authorized to command the forces & Trained Bands of this Our County of *York*, and the Commissions, command, and power of all Colonels, Lieutenant-Colonels, Captains and Officers of Our Trained Bands, (which were derived from the Commission and power of the Lord Lieutenant onely) are now actually void, and of no force and authority. Our will and command therefore is, that you forthwith issue Warrants under your hand,

hand, to all the late Colonels, Lieutenant Colonels, Captains, and Officers, who (whiles the Lord Lieutenants Commission was in force) had the command of the Trained Bands of this Our County : and also to all High and petty Constables, and other Our Officers in this Our County, whom it may concern ; charging and commanding them, and every of them, in Our Name, and upon their allegiance, and as they tender the peace of this Our Kingdom, not to muster, leavy, or raise, or to summon, or warn (upon any pretence or directions whatsoever) any of Our Trained Bands to rise, muster, or march, without expresse warrant under Our hand, or warrant from you Our Sheriffe grounded upon a particular Writ to that purpose ; which We also command you, not to put in execution without Our privy and allowance, whiles We shall reside in this Our County. And in case any of Our Trained Bands shall rise, or gather together, contrary to this Our command, Then We will and command you to charge and require them, to dissolve and retire to ther dwellings. And if upon due summons from you, they shall not lay down their arms, and depart to their dwellings ; We will and command you upon your allegiance, and as you tender the peace and quiet of this Our Kingdom, to raise the power of the County, and suppress them by force, as the Law hath directed and given you power to do. And to the end that this Our expresse command may be notified to all Our good Subjects in this Our County, so as none may pretend hereafter to have been misled through ignorance : We require you to cause these Our Letters to be forthwith read, and published openly in all Churches and Parishes in this Our County. Herein you may not fail, as you tender the safety and honour of Our person, the good and peace of this Our Kingdom, and will answer the contrary at your peril. For which this shall be your sufficient Warrant.

Given at Our Court at York, May 5. &c.

6.

*To the Gentry of Yorkshire, May 16. 1642.
From York.*

WE have with great contentment considered your dutiful and affectionate Answer to Our proposition concerning the unsufferable affront which We received at *Hull*; We have not been deceived in that confidence We had in your affection, wherefore We desire you to assure the rest of your Countrymen, who through negligence, were omitted to be summoned: that We shall never abuse your love by any power wherewith God shall enable Us to the least violation of the least of your liberties or the diminution of those immunities which We have granted you this Parliament, though they be beyond the Acts of most (if not all) Our Predecessours; being resolved with a constant and firm resolution to have the Law of this Land duly observed, and shall endeavour onely so to preserve Our just Royal Rights, as may enable Us to protect Our Kingdom and people, according to the ancient Honours of the Kings of *England*, and according to the trust which by the Law of God and this Land is put into the Crown, being sufficiently warned by the late affront at *Hull*, not to transfer the same out of Our power; concerning which affront We will take some time to advise which way We may usefully imploy your affections: In the mean time We shall take it well from all such as shall personally attend Us, so followed and provided, as they shall think fit for the better safety of Our person, because We know not what sudden violence, or affront may be offered unto Us, having lately received such an actual testimony of rebellious intentions

as Sir *John Hotham* hath expressed at *Hull*: Being thus secured by your affections and assistance, We promise you Our protection against any contrary power whatsoever. And that you shall not be molested for your humble and modest petition, as of late you have been threatned.

Given at Our Court at York, May 16. 1642.

7.

*To the Privy Councel of Scotland, May 20.
1642. From York.*

C. R.

Right trusty and well beloved Cousins, and Councillours, We greet you well. Although We have already written Our minde to you Our Councel; yet upon Our second thoughts, arising especially from some bad rumours, coming to Our knowledge, We finde it necessary both for Our Self, and for the good of that Our Kingdom, to declare and make known both Our disposition and desires more fully.

We know and feel the charge to be great, and the place to be high, wherein God (the King of Kings) hath placed Us, and that We must render an account of all Our actions to Him, who in His own time shall judge all men without exception of persons. We have no other intentions, but by Our government, to honour Him by whom Kings raign, and to procure the good of Our people; and for this end to preserve the right and authority wherewith God hath vested Us, and which by His providence hath been derived to Us, by many Princely Progenitors: in the which glory that Our ancient Kingdom, and native Realm of *Scotland* doth participate.

We did not require of you that you should sit as Judges upon the affairs of another Kingdom: We onely intended to have both Our sufferings and Our actions, (as they are exprest in many papers past betwixt Us and Our Parliament) made throughly known to you: that since We have none besides you whom We can acquaint with Our proceedings, you may clearly see that We have been so far from wronging Our Parliament of *England*, that We have given them al satisfaction, even above that which they themselves in the beginning did expresse, or almost desire: And as much as could well consist with the safety of Our person and honour. We will not put you in minde of your natural affection towards Us, which We know will rather be kindled then extinguished by Our distresse: Nor of your Covenant, wherein you are zealous of Our Greatnesse and Authority, and which standeth in that sense wherein you did swear and subscribe it: Nor of the many good Laws made in Our late Parliament (of which We hope the present and the succeeding Generations shall reap the fruits, when We are dead and gone:) Nor of the many promises made unto Us, upon which We were willing to yeeld to such things for settling the government of that Our Kingdom, in Our personal absence, which neither could We have granted, nor would you have craved (as your selves did professe) had Our greater affairs permitted Our residence amongst you. And whereas We are most unjustly blamed and calumniated, 1. That We are popishly affected: 2. That We are the cause of the bloodshed in *Ireland*: 3. That We intend to bring in Forraign Forces: We here do protest and declare in presence of him who knows the most secret of Our intentions and actions, that We are no wayes conscious to Our Self of the guiltinesse of any of the said aspersions: And do take him to witnesse Our innocency therein, who onely hath the priviledge to be the searcher of hearts. And if
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any after so full and plain profession shall distrust this Our free Declaration, We attest God, that the fault is in the malignity of their rebellious humours, and no wayes deserved on Our part.

Given at Our Court at York, May. 20. 1642.

8.

*To the Lord Willoughby of Parham, June 4.
1642. From York.*

C. R.

Right trusty and welbeloved, We greet you well; Whereas We understand, that you have begun to assemble, train, and muster the Trained Bands of Our County of *Lincoln*, under pretence of an Ordinance of Parliament, whereto We have not given Our consent; which is not onely contrary to Law, but to Our command and pleasure, signified by Our Proclamation sent to the High Sheriff of that Our County: Wherefore, that you may not hereafter plead ignorance of such Our prohibition; We do by these Our Letters, command and charge you, upon your allegiance, to desist and forbear to raise, muster, train, exercise, or assemble together any part of the Trained Bands of Our County, either by your self, or by any others imployed under you, or by warrant from you. And because you may for what you have already done, concerning the *Militia* of that Our County, plead that you had not so particular a command, We shall passe by what you have already done therein, so as presently upon your receipt hereof, you shall desist and give over meddling any further with any thing belonging to the *Militia* of that Our County; but if you shall not presently desist, and forbear meddling therewith, We are resolved to call

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you

You to a strict account for your disobedience therein, after so many particular and legal commands given You, upon your Allegiance to the contrary, and shall esteem and proceed against you as a disturber of the peace of Our Kingdom.

Given at Our Court at York, June 4. 1642.

To Our right trusty and well beloved the Lord Willoughby of Parham.

9.

To the Commissioners of Array in Leicestershire, June 12. 1642. From York.

C. R.

Right trusty and right well beloved Cousins, and right trusty & well beloved, We greet you well: Whereas it hath been declared by the Votes of both Houses of Parliament the fifteenth of March last, that the Kingdom hath of late, and still is, in so evident and imminent danger, both from enemies abroad, and a popish discontented party at home; that there is an urgent and inevitable necessity of putting Our Subjects to a posture of defence, for the safeguard both of Our person and people: and that sithence divers inhabitants of divers Counties have addressed their Petitions to that purpose: And whereas a small number of both Houses (after it had been rejected by the Lords in a full House, and without Our Royal assent or opinion of the Judges concerning the legality hereof) have attempted by way of Ordinance to put in execution the power of the *Militia* of the Kingdom, and to dispossesse many of Our ancient Nobility of the command and trust reposed in them by Us, and have nominated divers others, who have no interest in, nor live near to some of the Counties to which they are nominated for the Lieutenantcy, whereby they cannot be properly serviceable to the Counties wherewith they are intrusted, nor Our people receive

ceive that content and security which We desire they should: To submit to the execution of which power by the way of Ordinance, without it were reduced into a Law by Act of Parliament, established by Our Royal assent, were to introduce and expose Our Subjects to a meer Arbitrary Government, which by Gods grace We shall never permit.

We therefore considering that by the Laws of the Realm it belongeth solely to Us, to order and govern the *Militia* of the Kingdom; have thereupon by Our Proclamation of the 27 of May last, prohibited all manner of persons whatsoever upon their Allegiance, to Muster, Levy, or Summon, upon any Warrant, Order, or Ordinance from one or both Houses of Parliament, whereunto We have not, or shall not give Our expresse consent, any of the Trained Bands, or other Officers, without expresse Warrant under Our hands, or Warrant from Our Sheriff of the County, grounded on a particular Writ to that purpose under Our great Seal. And considering that in ancient time the *Militia* of the Kingdom was ever disposed of by Commissions of Array, and that by a particular Statute upon Record in the Tower, made in the fifth year of *Henry* the fourth, by full consent of the Prelates, Earls, Barons, and Commons, and at their suit, and by the advice and opinion of the Judges then had, such Commissions were mitigated in respect of some clauses perillous to the Commissioners; and approved of for the time to come: And that by the subsequent Records it appeareth, that all Our Royal Predecessours have continually exercised that power by such Commissions, till of late time they have been discontinued by the grants of particular Commissions of Lieutenancy; little differing in substance from the said Commissions of Array, against which it seems the Houses have taken some exception. And though We are no way satisfied of the illegality of them, Our Councill being never heard in the defence there.

of, yet being willing to avoid all exceptions at present, We have thought fit to refer it, to that ancient legal way of disposing the power of the *Militia*, by such Commissions of Array, for defence of Us, Our Kingdom, and Our Countrey: Authorizing you, or any three or more of you, to Array and Train Our people, and to apportion and assesse such persons as have estates, and are not able to bear arms, to finde arms for other men, in a reasonable and moderate proportion; and to conduct them so arraid, as well to the Coasts as other places for the opposition and destruction of Our Enemies in case of danger, as to your discretions, or any three or more of you shall seem meet. Whereof you *Henry* Earl of *Huntington*, and in your absence *William* Earl of *Devon*, or *Henry Hastings* Esquire, to be one: And being both confident in a great measure of the loyal affections of Our people, and very tender to bring any unnecessary burthen or charge on them, by augmenting the number of the Trained Bands, We do for the present onely require that you forthwith cause to be mustred and trained, all the ancient Trained Bands and freehold Bands of the County, carefully seeing, that they be supplied with able and sufficient persons, and compleatly armed; unlesse you finde that there be just cause, and that it shall be with the good liking of the inhabitants for their own better security to make any encrease of their numbers; and over such Bands to appoint and set such Colonels, Captains, and Officers, as you shall think most fit for the discharge of that service, being such persons as have considerable interest in the County, and not strangers. And in case of any opposition, you are to raise the power of the County to suppress it, and to commit all such persons as shall be found rebellious herein, into the custody of Our Sheriff; whose care and assistance We especially require. And that he shall from time to time issue forth such Warrants for the assembling of
Our

Our people, at such times and places as by you shall be agreed on, according to the trust reposed in him by Our said Commission. And We have authorized you Our Commissioners, or any three of you, after such Array made, from time to time, to Train and take Musters of Our said Bands; and to provide Beacons, and other necessities for the better exercising of Our people, and discovery of sudden invasions and commotions: Of all which your proceedings herein, We expect a speedy and plenary account, according to the trust reposed in you, and authority given you by Our Commission on that behalf.

Given at Our Court at York, the twelfth day of June, in the 18 year of Our reign, 1642.

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To the Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs of London, June 14. 1642. From York.

C. R.

TRusty and well beloved, We greet you well. Whereas We have received several informations of great sums of money endeavoured to be borrowed of Our City of *London*, by some direction proceeding from both Our Houses of Parliament, & likewise that great labour is used to perswade Our Subjects to raise Horse, and to furnish money, upon pretence of providing a guard for Our Parliament; These are to let you know, that notwithstanding any scandalous Votes which have presumed to declare Our intention of levying war against Our Parliament, and to lay other aspersions on Us, so fully disavowed by Us in the presence of Almighty God, by Our several Answers and Declarations) all Our desires and purposes are for the
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publick peace, and that Wee have not the least thought of raising or using force, except We are compelled to it for the defence of Our person, and in protection of the Law: And therefore We expect, that you suffer not your selves to be misled by such vain and improbable suggestions, and do declare, That if you shall lend any sums of money towards the relief of *Ireland* (to which We have contributed all the assistance could be desired of Us, which way soever the money given and raised to that purpose is disposed) or towards the payment of Our *Scots* Subjects, We shall take it as an acceptable service at your hands; but if upon general pretences contrived by a few factious persons against the peace of the Kingdom, you shall give or lend any money, or provide or raise any horses or arms, towards the raising such a guard, We shall look upon it as the raising force against Us, and to be done in malice and contempt of Us and Our Authority. And We do therefore straitly charge and command you to publish this Our Letter to the severall Masters and Wardens of the severall Companies, that they may be assured, that such money as they shall lend out of their good affection to the Kingdom, may be onely employed for *Ireland* or *Scotland*, and not toward such Guards, which (in truth) are intended by the contrivers of that Design (though We believe many honest men seduced by them do not yet see their end) to be employed against Us: And if you and they shall herein fail punctually and severally to observe Our commands, We shall not onely proceed against the severall Companies for deceiving the trust reposed in them; but against the particular persons, as contemners and opposers of Our Authority, and of the Law of the Land, in the most exemplary way the known Law of the Land shall prescribe to Us; and shall be compelled to question the Charter of your City, which We are willing yet to believe (notwithstanding the barbarous and insolent

insolent demeanour of the meaner and baser sort) in a good degree to continue loyal to Us. And of your obedience to these Our commands We do expect and require a full account, and of the names of such persons who shall oppose the same. Hereof fail you not as you will answer the contrary at your peril.

Given at Our Court at York the 14 day of June, &c.

II.

To the Judges, to be published in their Circuits, July 4. 1642. From York.

C.R.

TRusty and well beloved, We greet you well. We call to minde that in former times the constant custom was by the mouth of the Lord Keeper for the time being, at the Court of Star-Chamber, in the end of Trinity Term, to put the Judges of Assise (shortly after to undertake their severall Circuits) in minde of such things as were then thought necessary for the present, for the good government of the Kingdom. This course in Our judgement We do well approve of, That although We want the opportunity, which We and Our Predecessours then had, of communicating Our thoughts to Our Judges, for the good of Our people, yet We do still retain the same care for the safety and prosperity of Our good Subjects: And much more, by how much, the distempers and distractions of the present times, unhappily fallen, have given Us more occasion. We have therefore thought it fit, to supply the defect by these Our Letters; wherein, besides the general care of Our justice, committed to Us by God, and by Us delegated to Our Judges by Our severall Commissions, We recommend unto you in your Circuits, as We shall do to the rest of your Brethren in their severall Circuits, these particulars following.

First,

First, that you take care, by all the best means you can, to suppress Popery in all those Counties whither you are to go, by putting the Laws made against them in due execution: And that you take like care to give a stop to the overhasty growth of Anabaptism, and other Schisms, as far as by the good Laws of the Land you may; and to punish the Delinquents with an equal hand, and those specially of either sort whom you shall discover to be seditious stirrers and movers of others to any acts of disobedience to Us, and Our Government; and that in charge and otherwise, as you shall have fit opportunity, you assure Our good Subjects in Our Name, and in the word of a King, who calls God to witnesse, that by his gracious assistance We are constantly resolved to maintain the true Protestant Religion, established by Law in this Church of *England*, in the purity thereof, without declining either to the right hand or to the left, as We found it at Our accesse to the Crown, and as it was maintained in the happy times of *Queen Elizabeth*, and King *James* Our dear Father, both of happy memory, and therein both to live and dye.

Secondly, You shall let Our people of those Counties know, That according to Our Kingly Duty and Oath, We are also constantly resolved to maintain the Laws of this Our Kingdom; and by and according to them to govern Our Subjects, and not by any Arbitrary power, whatsoever the malevolent spirits of any ill affected to Our person or government, have suggested, or shall suggest to the contrary. And that We shall also maintain the just priviledges of Parliament, as far as ever Our Predecessours have done, and as far as may stand with that justice which We owe to Our Crown, and the honour thereof: But that We may not, nor will admit of any such unwarranted power, in either, or both Houses of Parliament, which in some things hath been lately usurped, not onely without, but against Our Royal consent and Command.

mand. And We require and command you, as there shall be just occasion offered, in a legal way, that you take care to preserve Our just Right in these cases.

Thirdly, We charge you, as you tender the peace of this Kingdom, in the Government whereof, according to the Laws, you Our Judges of the Law have a principal part under Us, that you take care for suppressing of all Insurrections, if any such should happen, and of all Riots and unlawful Assemblies under any pretence whatsoever, not warranted by the Laws of this Land; and whosoever shall transgresse therein, that you let them know that they must expect that punishment which by the Law may be inflicted upon them, and at your hands We shall look for such an account herein, within your circuit, as becometh the quality of the place wherein you serve Us.

Fourthly, because the distempers of the present times, unhappily stirred up and fomented by some, under specious, but unjust pretences, and probable to stir up loose and ungoverned people, under hope of impunity as far as they dare to make a prey of Our good Subjects, We straitly charge and command you to take the best order you can in those Counties, that Rogues, Vagabonds, and other disorderly people may be apprehended, dealt with and punished according to the Laws, whereby the good and quiet people of Our Kingdom may be secured, and the wicked and licentious may be suppressed: and We charge and command you to give it in charge in all the Counties whither you are sent by Our Commissions, that Watches and Wards be straitly kept in all Parishes and places convenient, whereby the Laws made against such disorders may be put in due execution.

Fifthly, and lastly, you shall let Our people of those Counties know from Us, and by Our command, that if they shall professe unto Us, or unto you in Our stead, any thing wherein they hold themselves grieved,

ved, in an humble and fitting way, and shall desire a just Reformation or Relief, We shall give a gracious ear unto them, and with all convenience return them such an answer, as shall give them cause to thank Us for Our justice and favour: And when you shall have published Our cleer intentions to Our people in these things, lest at the first hearing they should not so fully apprehend Our sense therein, you shall deliver a copy of these Our Letters to the Fore-man of the Grand-Jury, and to any other, if any one shall desire copies of these Our Letters for their better information: And to the end that Our services in your Circuit may not suffer through the absence of Our learned Council, Our will and command is, that you assigne in every place of your Sessions some of the ablest Lawyers who ride that Circuit to be of Counsel for Us, to assist in such Pleas of the Crown, that may be most necessary for Our service in the execution and punishment of notorious Delinquents.

Of all these things We shall expect that good account from you, as We shall from the rest of your brethren Our Judges, to whom We have also written to the like purpose, of whose fidelity and good affections We are confident as becometh Us to look for from you, and for you to render to Us, wherein you have so great a trust committed.

Given at Our Court at York, July 4. 1642.

To Our trusty and well beloved, the Judge or Judges of Assize for Our Counties of Kent, Surrey, Suffex, Hartford, and Essex.

12.

*To the Vice-Chancellour of Oxford, July 18
1642. From Beverley.*

Reverend Father in God, We greet you well,

WHereas We have received a most large and ample testimony of the affection of that Our loyal University to Us, by the free loan of a very considerable Sum of money, in a time of so great and imminent necessity. These are to will and require you, to give to that Our University from Us, Our Royal thanks, and to assure them and every of them, (Our loving and loyal Subjects) that this testimony of their hearts towards Us, shall never depart out of Our Royal memory, and that both they shall be carefully repaid, and the money imployed onely upon the defence of Our Self, the true Protestant Religion, and the Laws established in this Our Kingdom: and whereas We hear, that for this action, so full of loyalty and allegiance, some of that Our University have been ordered to be sent for, these are to will and require you, to signifie unto them and every of them, (who assume such power to themselves without Us) That We will and command, that no obedience be given to any such summons, holding Our Self bound to protect and defend those, who shall be persecuted for that cause, by having contributed to Our defence and protection. And so We bid you farewell.

Given at Our Court at Beverly, July 18. 1642.

To

13.

*To the Mayor of Oxford, July 22. 1642.
From Nottingham.*

C. R.

TRusty and welbeloved, We greet you well, where-
as We have lately received very ample testimo-
nies of the good affections of Our University of *Oxon*,
by the loan of such monies as could be thence spared
for the supply of Our urgent and extraordinary occa-
sions, For which dutiful and affectionate expression,
We are informed that several worthy persons of that
Our University, Our servants and others are threat-
ned to be troubled and molested, We have thought
fit to commend the care, assistance, and protection,
of that place and of the persons in it, to you as a ser-
vice, wherein you shall merit Our favour and good
acceptance, & of which We shall require an account.
And We do therefore will and require you, as you
tender Our displeasure, if any Warrant, Order, or o-
ther direction whatsoever shall come to your hand
for the apprehending or troubling any person or per-
sons of that Our University for his good affection to
Our service in advancing the businesse of lending and
supplying Us with money which We shall never for-
get, that you be so far from countenancing or assist-
ing any such warrant or direction, that on the con-
trary you use your utmost power to preserve those
Our good Subjects from such oppression, the which
We shall take in very good part at your hand, and
for so doing this shall be your Warrant.

Given at Our Court at Nottingham, July 22. 1642.

14.

*To the Sheriffs of London, January 17. 1642
From Oxford.*

C.R.

TRusty and welbeloved, We greet you well. We received lately a Petition from the Aldermen and Common-council of Our City of *London*, by the hands of persons intrusted by them for the delivery, who found such a reception from Us, as well manifested Our regard to that body which sent them; Though We well knew by whom that Petition was framed, and where perused and examined, before it was approved by those from whom it seemed to be sent, yet We were so willing to enter into a correspondence with that Our City, and to receive any addresse and application from them, according to that invitation We had given by Our late Proclamation; and were so glad to finde that there was yet some hopes they would look to the peace and happiness of that City, and at last sever themselves from any Faction or dependence which might insensibly involve them in those calamities they did not foresee, that We returned such a gracious Answer thereunto, so full of candor and affection, that the meanest inhabitant of that Our City, if he carefully consider the same, will finde himself concerned in it, and that We have had an especiall care of his particular. With this answer of Ours We sent a servant of Our own, in the company of those who had been so well used here, to require and see that it might be communicated to the whole body of that Our City; not doubting but that both it and the bringer should receive such entertainment there, as might manifest
their

their due regard of Us, and of Our affection to them : But to Our great wonder, We finde that after ten dayes attendance, and suffering ridiculous Pamphlets to be published in Our Name, as if We retracted Our former resolutions, (which Pamphlet We have caused to be burned by the hand of the Hangman, as We also require you to see done) instead of that admision We expected to Our Messenger and Message, Guards of armed men have been brought to keep Our good Subjects, to whom that Our Answer was directed, from being present at the reading thereof; and Speeches have been made by strangers (who have been admitted to the City Counsels, contrary to the Freedome and custome of these meetings,) to blast Our said Answer, and to dishonour and slander Us, which if Our good Subjects there shall suffer, Wee shall be much discouraged in Our desired correspondence with that Our City, and so by the cunning and power of those Incendiaries mentioned in Our Answer (Alderman *Pennington*) who to shew his great loyalty to Us, and his fittnesse to be the chief Magistrate of such a City, being informed that a desperate person there said, that *he hoped shortly to wash his hands in Our blood*, refused to send any Warrant, or to give any direction to any Officer for his apprehension (*Ven, Fulke, and Manwaring*) who have plunged that Our City into such unspeakable calamities, in which they would still keep it to cure their own desperate condition, Our good Subjects there are not suffered to receive Our gracious Answer to that petition: We have therefore thought fit to write these Our Letters to you, requiring you the Sheriffs of Our said City to take care for the publishing that Our Answer (which We herewith send you) to Our good Subjects of that Our City: And Our pleasure is, That you the Masters
and

and Wardens of the several Companies of Our said City, forthwith summon all the members of your several Companies, with all the Freemen and Apprentices (whose hopes and interests are so much blasted in these general distractions) belonging thereunto, to appear at your several Halls, where you shall cause Our said Answer, together with these Our Letters, to be publickly read, that all Our good Subjects may clearly understand how far We have been from begetting, how far We are from continuing or nourishing these unnatural civil dissentions, and how much it is in their own power to remove the present pressures, and to establish the future happinesse and glory of that famous City, and most seriously weigh every part of that Our Answer, as well that which carries caution in it for the future, as pardon for what is past; for assure your selves for the time to come, We shall proceed with all severity against such who shall incur the penalty of the Law in those points, of which We have given them so fair a warning in Our said Answer, and whosoever shall not behave himself like a good Subject in this Our Kingdom, shall not, (if We can help it) receive the benefit and advantage of being Our Subject in any other; but all Forraign Princes shall know, that as such person hath parted with his loyalty to Us, so he must not hope for any security by Us, and to that purpose We shall henceforward have a very inquisitive eye upon the actions of all Our Subjects, that some example may be made, how easie it is for Us to punish their disloyalties abroad, who for a time may avoid Our justice at home. And to the end that none of Our good Subjects of that Our City may think themselves bound to obey any of the orders or commands of the pretended Lord Mayor (whom We have and do still accuse of high Treason, and conspiring to take Our life from Us) It is well known unto those Citizens who

who understand the Charter of that City (so amply granted by Our Royal progenitors, and so graciously confirmed by Us, and of which We presume our good Subjects there do still desire to receive the benefit,) that the said *Isaac Penington* was never regularly erected, or lawfully admitted to be Lord Mayor of that Our City, that in truth Alderman *Cordwel*, was by the plurality of voices chosen, and that this man was never presented to, or admitted by Us, in such manner as is prescribed by their said Charter, neither had that Judge, who presumed to swear him, any more colour of law or authority to administer such an oath to him, then he hath to do the same to morrow to any other Alderman of the City: And We do therefore hereby declare the said *Isaac Penington* not to be Mayor of that Our City of *London*, and to have no lawful authority to exercise the same, and that Our good Subjects of that Our City, ought not to submit to any Orders, directions, or commands which shall issue from him as Lord Mayor of that Our City, but that the same are void and of none effect. And We do once more require you the Sheriffs of Our said City, and all other the Magistrates of the same, in which all Our good Subjects of that City will assist you, that you cause said *Isaac Penington*, *Ven*, *Fulk*, and *Manwaring*, to be apprehended and committed to safe custody, that We may proceed against them as guilty of high Treason, and principal Authors of those calamities which are now so heavy upon Our poor Subjects of that City, and if not suddenly remedied will in a short time utterly confound a place, and a people lately so flourishing an estimation in all parts of Christendom. And whereas We are enformed that one *Brown* a Woodmonger, *Titchburne* a Linen-Draper, and one *Harvey* a Silkman, have exercised great insolencies and outrages in that Our City, and when many of Our good subjects there, have assembled together in a peaceable and modest manner, to consult about the
peace

peace and welfare of that City, the said mutinous and seditious persons have presumed to lead multitudes of armed men against them, and by such force have beaten, wounded, and killed Our good Subjects, Our will and pleasure is, That if the said *Brown, Titchburn,* and *Harvey*, or either of them, shall so far neglect Our gracious offer of pardon, as still to engage themselves in those unwarrantable & seditious courses, That you Our Sheriffs of *London*, raise power to suppress the said force, and that you and all Our Ministers of justice, use your utmost means to apprehend the said persons, and to bring them to condign punishment. And We do hereby declare, That it shall be lawful for any of Our loving Subjects, to resist and oppose the said persons, if they shall hereafter, in such a warlike manner, endeavour to molest them, as they would do Rebels and Traytors: And We hope that all Our good Subjects of that Our much injured City of *London*, do take notice of Our grace and favour towards them, in Our so freely passing by and pardoning the offences there committed against Us, as We have offered by Our Proclamation and Our late Answer; and of Our very earnest desire to be with them, and to reside amongst them for their comfort, support, and protection, if they shall, by first providing for their own security, (in such manner as We have directed them in Our late Answer) give Us an instance that We may be safe there too: and that they do likewise observe, that being by such violence kept from them, We have done Our utmost endeavour to continue and advance the decayed trading of that Our City, by permitting and encouraging all resort and traffique thither, and therefore if by the stopping of carriages, and seizing commodities by other men, the commerce and correspondence be broken between that place and Our good Subjects of other Counties, they will impute that mischief to the true authors of it, and look upon Us onely as not able to help them.

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Do but your duties, and this cloud which threatens a present confusion will quickly vanish away, and you will enjoy all the blessings of a happy Nation, to the which no endeavour of Ours shall be wanting.

15.

To the Sheriff and Justices of Gloucestershire, February 12. 1642. From Oxford.

TRUSTY and well beloved, We greet you well. Whereas there hath been lately an Insurrection and Rebellion against Us in Our County of Gloucester, which hath so generally possessed the spirits of that County (though We do acknowledge many Gentlemen of the best quality there, hath with courage retained their loyalty to Us, and have suffered with Us, which We shall alwayes and particularly remember) that there hath been a greater concurrence there in this desperate Rebellion, then in any County of England, insomuch that We have been compelled to send a considerable part of Our Army thither, the which it pleased God to blesse with such successe, that We hope for the future We shall be able, by the concurrence and assistance of you, and the rest of Our good Subjects of that good County, to preserve you from the like Invasions. And to shew how far We are from the just sense and indignation We might well entertain against those, who have so wilfully fallen from their allegiance, or concurred with the disloyalty of others, by not applying themselves to a timely prevention, We have sent Our gracious Proclamation to inhibit Our Souldiers from plundering, or using

using any violence to any of Our Subjects of that County, of what condition soever, and to secure them in the freedom of their Markers, that their Trade and Commerce may be renewed and continued. Yet We must declare unto you, that We expect some reparation, and an exemplary testimony of their conversion and affection, who neglecting Our former Proclamations of Grace and pardon, continued still to foment this unnatural bloody dissention, though We shall not proceed with strictnesse and severity against them: And it will not seem just that the charge and burthen, brought upon the Countrey by the malice and connivence of such Men, should be equally born by those who have faithfully adhered in their loyalty and affection to Us, which is the case in the rate for the monethly Contribution agreed upon, in which all persons of ability are equally engaged, how different soever their demeanour hath been; And therefore Our pleasure is, That you, or any three of you (whereof We appoint you Our High Sheriff to be one) call and summon together the Gentlemen, Clergy, and substantial Freeholders and Inhabitants of that Our County, to appear before you at such times and places, as you shall think most convenient, and move them in Our Name freely to assist and contribute unto Us according to their severall abilities, in these Our urgent and important occasions, for the maintenance of the true Protestant Religion, in which they have been bred, for the defence of the Lawes and Liberties, to which they were born, and for the safety of Our person, to which they have so often sworn; and as We believe all well-affected persons will bee willing and ready upon this occasion to expresse their duty to Us, so We doubt not such, who have by weaknesse and misunderstanding, or through fear and apprehension

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of danger been so far transported, as to contribute or consent to these horrid dissensions, will by their free and liberal assistance of Us, expresse, That their former errors proceeded from weaknesse, not from malice. And Our pleasure is, and We do hereby authorize you Our High Sheriffe to receive all such summes of money as shall be contributed unto Us, and with the advice of the Justices of the peace, who shall assist you in this service, to return the names of all such who shall expresse their affections to Us this way, as likewise of those whose stubbornnesse and perverseness may, in your opinion, have an ill influence upon the peace and quiet of the County. And you shall further require all the Trained Bands of that Our County, to send in their arms they have been charged with, to Our Magazine at *Cyrencester*, within ten dayes after the date of this Our Letter, at their utmost peril: and if any men shall excuse themselves by saying, that their arms are already delivered in at *Glocester* or *Cyrencester*, or any other place, and therefore that they cannot obey Us herein, you shall let them know, that We will not consent that their readines to obey those commands which tended to the disturbance of the peace of that Our County, shall be any excuse for their not obeying Ours, which are for their necessary defence and safety, and therefore We shall expect that every person, within that Our County, who is charged with arms, or hath found arms by vertue of the pretended Ordinance of the *Militia*, shall within the time prefixed deliver the arms with which he is charged, and such who executed the *Militia*, all their armes into Our said Magazine, except such persons who shall sufficiently make proof before you, That their arms were by force and violence taken from them by the said Rebels, and of this you shall give Us a particular account; that We well knowing the number of armes that Our County stands charged with,
and

and with which private persons have lately furnished themselves, may judge of their affections by their obedience to these commands. Lastly, because the City of *Glocester*, notwithstanding Our gracious Proclamation and offer of pardon, doth yet refuse to yeeld that submission and obedience which is due to Us, whereby We may be compelled to visit those parts with Our Army, which might else be free from those inconveniences, We straitly will and command all Our loving Subjects of that Our County, to forbear, and not to entertain any commerce or traffique with Our said City of *Glocester*, neither by buying or selling, or any other offices of Neighbourhood, till the same shall return to its loyalty and subjection; which if it shall do, We shall receive it into Our protection, and defend it from any assaults or violence. And you shall cause these Our Letters to be publickly read in all the Churches and Chappels of that Our County, that all Our Subjects may know the contents thereof, and conform themselves accordingly.

Given at Our Court at Oxford, Febr. 12.

1642.

16:

*To the Privy Council of Scotland, Decemb. 6.
1642. From Oxford.*

Right trusty and right well beloved Cousins and Counsellours, and right trusty and well beloved Councillours, We greet you well. We have lately seen a paper presented to Us by the Earl of *Lynsey*, as a Declaration of the Lords and Commons assembled in the Parliament of *England*, of the 7 of November, to Our Subjects of Our Kingdom of *Scotland*; which after many high taxes of Us and Our government, very earnestly invites, and in a manner challenges assistance, from that Our native Kingdom, of Men and Arms for making a war against Us, making a claim to that assistance, by vertue of the late Act of Pacification, to the which (out of Our desire to make a perpetual union between Our two Kingdoms, for the happinesse of both, and by it the more firmly to establish Our own greatnesse and just power,) We cheerfully consented.

As We are at Our soul afflicted, that it hath been in the power of any factious, ambitious, and malicious persons, so far to possesse the hearts of many of Our Subjects of *England*, as to raise this miserable distemper and distraction in this Kingdom, against all Our real actions and endeavours to the contrary; so We are glad that this rage & fury hath so far transported them, that they apply themselves in so grosse a manner to Our Subjects of *Scotland*, whose experience of Our Religion, Justice, and Love of Our people will not suffer them to beleeve those horrid scandals laid upon Us; and their affection, loyalty, and jealousie of Our honour, will disdain to be made instruments

struments to oppress their native Sovereign, by assisting an odious Rebellion.

We have from time to time acquainted Our Subjects of that Kingdom, with the accidents and circumstances which have disquieted this: how (after all the acts of justice, grace, and favour, performed on Our part, which were, or could be desired to make a people compleatly happy,) We were driven by the force and violence of rude and tumultuous assemblies, from Our City of *London*, & Our two Houses of Parliament: How attempts have been made to impose Laws upon Our Subjects without Our consent, contrary to the foundation, & constitution of this Kingdom. How Our Forts, Goods, and Navy were seized and taken from Us by force, and imployed against Us: Our Revenue and ordinary subsistence wrested from Us. How We have been pursued with scandalous and reproachful language; bold, false, and seditious Pasquils, and Libels publickly allowed against Us; and bin told that We might, without want of modesty and duty, be Deposed. Now after all this (before any force raised by Us) an Army was raised, and a General appointed to lead that Army against Us, with a Commission to kill, slay, and destroy all such who should be faithful to Us. That when We had been by these means compelled with the assistance of Our good Subjects to raise an Army for Our necessary defence, We sent diverse gracious Messages, earnestly desiring that the calamities and miseries of a civil War might be prevented by a Treaty, and so We might know the grounds of this misunderstanding. How We were absolutely refused to be treated with: & how at last the Army (raised, as was pretended, for the defence of Our person) was brought into the field against Us, gave Us battel, & (though it pleased God to give Us the Victory) destroyed many of Our good Subjects, with as imminent danger to Our own person and Our Children, as the skill & malice of desperate Rebels could contrive:

of all which and the other Indignities which have been offer'd Us, We doubt not the duty and affection of Our Scottish Subjects will have so just a resentment, that they will expresse to the World the sense they have of Our sufferings. And Our good Subjects of *Scotland* are not, We hope, so great Strangers to the affairs of this Kingdom, to believe that this misfortune and distraction is begot and brought upon Us by Our two Houses of Parliament: (though in truth no unwarrantable action against the Law can be justified even by that authority.) They well know how the Members of both Houses have been driven thence, insomuch, that of above five hundred Members of the House of Commons, there are not now there above eighty, and of above one hundred of the House of Peers, not above fifteen or sixteen. All which are so awed by the multitude of Anabaptists, Brownists, and other persons, desperate and decayed in their fortunes, in and about the City of *London*, that in truth their consultations have not the freedom and priviledge which belong to Parliaments.

Concerning any Commissions granted by Us to Papists to raise forces, We must refer Our good Subjects to a Declaration lately set forth by Us upon the occasion of that Scandal, which We send together with this; and for Our own true and zealous affection to the Protestant Religion (the advancement whereof Our soul desires) We can give no other instances, then Our constant practice, on which Malice it self can lay no blemish; and those many Protestations We have made in the sight of Almighty God, to whom We know We shall be deerly accountable, if We fail in the observation.

For that scandalous imputation of Our intention of bringing in Forraign Forces, as the same is raised without the least colour or shadow of reason, and solemnly disavowed by Us in many of Our Declarations; so there cannot be a clearer argument to Our
Subjects

Subjects of *Scotland* that We have no such thought, then that We have hitherto forbore to require the assistance of that Our native Kingdom, from whose obedience, duty, and affection We should confidently expect it, if We thought Our own strength here too weak to preserve Us; and of whose courage and loyalty We shall look to make use, before We shall think of any Forraign aid to succour Us. And We know no reasonable or understanding man can suppose Our good Subjects of *Scotland* are obliged, or enabled by the late Act of Parliament in both Kingdoms, to obey the invitation which is made to them by this pretended Declaration; when it is so evidently provided for by that Act, That as the Kingdom of *England* shall not make war against the Kingdom of *Scotland*, without consent of the Parliament of *England*, so the Kingdom of *Scotland* shall not make war against the Kingdom of *England*, without the consent of the Parliament of *Scotland*: and when they have alwayes declared themselves so carefully of Our Honour, Safety, and just Rights, which now undergo so great violation.

This We have thought fit to say upon occasion of this late Declaration, and do commend it to you the Lords of Our Privy Councel of Our Kingdom of *Scotland*, to be communicated and published to all Our loving Subjects there; and if the grave counsel and advice, which you derived hither by your Act of the 22 of April last, had been followed here, in a tender care of Our Royal person, and of Our Princely greatness and authority, then would not this face of Confusion have appeared, which now threatens this Kingdom: And therefore Wee require you to use your utmost endeavours to enform Our Subjects of that Our Kingdom, of the truth of Our condition, and that you suffer not the scandals and imputations laid on Us, by the malice and treason of some men, to make any impression in the minds of Our people,

to the lessening or corrupting their affection and loyalty to Us; but that you assure them the hardnesse We now undergo, and the Armes We have been compelled to take up, are for the defence of Our person, and safety of Our life, for the maintenance of the true Protestant Religion, for the preservation of the Laws, Liberties, & constitution of this Kingdom, and for the just priviledges of Parliament: and We look no longer for the blessing of Heaven, then We endeavour the defence and advancement of all these: and We doubt not a dutiful concurrence in Our Subjects of *Scotland*, in the care of Our Honour and just Rights, will draw down a blessing on that Nation too.

17.

*To the Privy Councel of Scotland, Sept. 18.
1642. From Stratford.*

C. R.

Right trusty and well beloved Cousins and Councillours, right trusty, and trusty and well beloved Councillours, and trusty and well beloved, We greet you well. Having been informed that upon petition of the Commissioners from Our late general Assembly, Our Councel thought fit that you should meet, for discharge of that trust imposed on you by Us and Our Parliament, whereby all fair means may be used to prevent such troubles and divisions as may interrupt or endanger the common peace of Our Kingdoms: And as it ought to be the continual study and care, of all good and pious Princes to preserve their people; so certainly it is the duty of all loyal and faithful Subjects to maintain the greatnesse and just authority of their Princes; so that without this reciprocal endeavour, there can be no happinesse for the Prince, nor security for the people. We are confident Our late actions in *Scotland*, will to all posterity be

be an acceptable witnesse of Our care in preserving the liberty of these Our Subjects, and Our desire to settle a perfect peace in that Our Kingdom: And We are as confident, that the many good Acts We have past here since the down-sitting of this Parliament (indeed denying none but such as denied Us any power at all, and were never so much as demanded from any of Our Predecessours) will bear the like testimony of Our affection to the good and peace of this Kingdom, though the successe hath not bin alike. For though We have used Our best endeavours to prevent the present distractions and threatening dangers, yet so prevalent have been the opposers of Us, and the peace of Our Kingdoms, as not so much as a Treaty can be obtained (though by Our several Messages We have descended to demand and presse it) unlesse upon such conditions as would, either by taking all power of government from Us, make Us as no King, or by forcing Us to quit the protection of such, as (for obeying Us according to Law and their Oath of Allegiance) they would have Traitors, and so make Us do an act unworthy of a King: Yet so desirous We are to save Our Subjects blood, (which cannot but be prodigally spent, if We be necessitated by force of armes to decide their unhappy differences) that no sooner any such Treaty shall be offered unto Us by them (which with honour and safety We can receive) but We shall cheerfully embrace it. This We have thought fit to acquaint you withall, that from Our selves you may know Our love to peace: and We doubt not but your meeting at this time will produce something which will witness your tender respect to Our Honour and safety. And so much do We confide in your affections, as We shall absolutely leave the wayes and means of expressing it to your selves. So We bid you heartily farewell.

From Our Court at Stafford the 18 of Septemb. 1642.

18.

*To the Privy Council of Scotland, Octob. 13.
1642. From Bridgenorth.*

C. R.

Right trusty and well beloved Cousins, and Councillours, right trusty, and trusty and well beloved Councillours, and trusty and well beloved, We greet you well. By your Letter the 29 of September We conceive how sensible you are of the present distractions of this Kingdom, which cannot be a greater grief to any then to Our Self: But seeing all the means We could possibly use for the removal thereof are (by the practises of such as study division) prevented, and all Our offers of treating (in a fair way to settle these distempers) slighted and not regarded; We are for the defence of true Religion, and the maintenance of the Liberties of the Subject, the priviledges of Parliament, and Our just, and ever till now unquestioned authority necessitated to put Our Self in the posture We are now in, and We shall no further beg a blessing from God on Our proceedings, then We intend the preservation of these.

As for your resolution of sending here some of your number. We see no reason why they should apprehend any danger in their repair to Us; for they may be confident to have a safe and free access to Our person, which We have never denied to any of Our good Subjects who repaired to Us in a dutifull manner, and were not out of Our protection. Therefore We conceive the granting of a safe conduct to any such, absolutely non-necessary: But if they apprehend any danger from the present disorders of this Kingdom, and Armies now on foot, We will grant such a passe both for their coming and return, as
We

We ordinarily give to any of Our Subjects or servants for passing through Our Garrisons Towns or Armies: which We doubt not will both secure them, and satisfie you. So We bid you heartily farewell. *From Our Court at Bridgenorth the 13 of October, 1642.*

19.

To the Mayor, Aldermen, Sheriffs, and Common-Council of Bristol, about Mr. Yeomans, and Mr. Bourchier, &c. May 29. 1643.
From Oxford.

TRusty and well beloved, We greet you well. Whereas We are informed that by the power and authority of certain factious and rebellious persons in that Our City of Bristol, divers of Our good Subjects (as namely *Robert Yeomans, George Bourchier, William Yeomans, Edward Dacres* and others) of that Our City are imprisoned for preserving their duty and loyalty to Us, and for refusing to joyn in, or assist this horrid and odious Rebellion against Us, and that the said wicked and traiterous persons, have presumed to condemn the said innocent men to dye, and upon such their sentence notoriously against the Lawes of God and Man, they intend to execute and murder Our said Subjects; We have thought fit to signify to you the Mayor, Aldermen, Sheriffs, and the rest of the body of the Council of that Our City, that if you suffer this horrid and execrable murder to be committed upon the persons aforesaid, and thereby call the just judgement of God, and bring perpetual infamy upon that Our City, We shall look upon it, as the most barbarous and inhumane act, that hath been yet committed against Us, and upon you, as the most desperate betrayers of Us, and of the lives and liberties of your fellow Subjects. And We do therefore
will

will and command you, not to suffer any violence to be done upon the persons aforesaid, but that if any such be attempted against them, that you raise all the power and strength of that Our City for their rescue, and to that purpose We command all Our good Subjects of that Our City to aid and assist you upon their Allegiance, and as they hope for any grace and favour at Our hands: and that you and they kill and slay all such who shall attempt or endeavour to take away the lives of Our said Subjects, and for so doing this shall be your Warrant. And hereof you may not fail at your utmost peril. *Given at Our Court at Oxford the 29 of May, 1643.*

20.

To the City of Gloucester, A Summons, With their Answer, August 10. 1643.

OUt of Our tender compassion to Our City of Gloucester, and that it may not receive prejudice by Our Army, which We cannot prevent, if We be compelled to assault it, We are personally come before it to require the same, and are graciously pleased to let all the Inhabitants of, and all other persons within that City, as well Souldiers as others, know, That if they shall immediately submit themselves, and deliver this Our City to Us, We are contented freely and absolutely to pardon every one of them without exception; and do assure them in the word of a KING, that they nor any of, them shall receive the least damage or prejudice by Our Army in their persons, or estates; but that We will appoint such a Governour, and a moderate Garrison to reside there, as shall be both for the ease and security of that City and that whole County. But if they shall neglect this proffer of Grace and Favour, and compel Us by the power.

power of Our Army to reduce that place (which by the help of God We doubt not We shall be easily and shortly able to do) they must thank themselves for all the calamities and miseries must befall them. To this Message We expect a clear and positive Answer within two houres after the publishing hereof. And by these presents do give leave to any persons safely to repair to, and return from Us whom that City shall desire to employ unto Us in that businesse. And do require all the Officers and Souldiers of Our Army, quietly to suffer them to passe accordingly.

August 10. 1643.

WE the Inhabitants, Magistrates, Officers and Souldiers within this Garrison of *Glocester*: unto his gracious Messager return this humble Answer. That We do keep this City according to our Oathes and Allegiance to and for the use of His Majesty and His Royal posterity; and do accordingly conceive our selves wholly bound to obey the commands of His Majesty signified by both Houses of Parliament; and are resolved by Gods help to keep this City accordingly.

De. Wise, Major, John Brewster, G. Dawidssone, Robert Maxwell, Edw. Massie, Con. Ferrer, William Luggo, My. Singleton, Thomas Hill, Thomas Pury, John Scriven, Nich. Webb, Jo. Dorney, Anth. Edwards, John Halford, Toby Jordan, Hum. Mathewes, Isaac Dobson, Edward Gray, Charls Blount, Peter Crispe, Rob. Backhouse, Ja. Marcus, Tho. Pury Jun. Rob. Stevenson, Tho. Blayney.

21.

To the Inhabitants of Cornwall a Letter of thanks, Septemb. 10. 1643. From Sudely Castle.

C. R.

WE are so highly sensible of the extraordinary merit of Our County of *Cornwall*, of their zeal for the defence of Our person, and the just Rights of Our Crown, (in a time when We could contribute so little to Our own defence or to their assistance; in a time when not onely no reward appeared, but great and probable dangers were threatned to obedience and loyalty;) of their great and eminent courage and patience in their indefatigable prosecution of their great work against so potent an Enemy, backt with so strong, rich, and populous Cities, and so plentifully furnished and supplied with Men, Arms, Money, Ammunition and provision of all kinds. And of the wonderful successe with which it hath pleased Almighty God (though with the losse of some most eminent persons who shall never be forgotten by Us) to reward their loyalty and patience by many strange Victories over their and Our Enemies, in despite of all humane probability, and all imaginable disadvantages; that as We cannot be forgetful of so great deserts, so We cannot but desire to publish to all the World, and perpetuate to all Time the memory of their merits, and of Our acceptance of the same. And to that end, We do hereby render Our Royal thanks to that Our County, in the most publick and most lasting manner We can devise, commanding Copies hereof to be printed and published, and one of them to be read in every Church and Chappel therein, and

to be kept for ever as a Record in the same, That as long as the History of these Times, and of this Nation shall continue, the memory of how much that County hath merited from Us and Our Crown, may be derived with it to posterity.

Given at Our Camp at Sudely-Castle the tenth of September, 1643.

22.

To the Earl of Essex at Lestithiel, with another Letter to him from the Officers of the Kings Army, August 6. 1644. From Liskard in Cornwall.

ESSEX, I have been very willing to believe, that when ever there shold be such a conjuncture as to put it in your power to effect that happy settlement of this miserable Kingdom, (which all good men desire) you would lay hold of it. That season is now before you, you have it at this time in your power to redeem your Countrey and the Crown, and to oblige your King in the highest degree, (an Action certainly of the greatest piety, prudence and honour) such an opportunity as perhaps no Subject before you hath ever had, or after you shall have. To which there is no more required, but that you joyn with Me heartily and really, in the settling of those things which We have both professed constantly to be Our onely aimes. Let Us do this, and if any shall be so foolishly unnatural as to oppose their Kings, their Countries, and their own good, We will make them happy (by Gods blessing) even against their wills. The onely impediment can be want of mutual confidence; I promise it you on My part, as I have endeavoured to prepare it on yours, by my Letter to Hertford from *Evesham*. I hope this will perfect it, when (as I here do)

do) I shall have engag'd unto you the word of a King, that you joyning with Me in that blessed work, I shall give both to you and your Army such eminent marks of My confidence and valour, as shall not leave a room for the least distrust amongst you, either in relation to the publick, or to your self, unto whom I shall then be

Liskard Aug. 6. 1644.

Your faithful Friend.

If you like of this, hearken to this bearer, whom I have fully instructed in particulars, but this will admit of no delay.

C.R.

My Lord,

WE having obtained his Majesties leave to send this to your Lordship, shall not repeat the many gracious Messages, Endeavours, and Declarations which His Majesty hath made, and have been so solemnly protested in the presence of God and Men, That we wonder how the most scrupulous can make any doubt of the real, and Royal performance of them. But we must before this approaching occasion tell your Lordship, that we bear armes for this end onely, to defend His Majesties known Rights, the Laws of the Kingdom, the Liberty of the Subject, the priviledge of the Parliament, and the true Protestant Religion, against Popery and popish Innovations: And this being the professed cause of your Lordships taking armes, we are confident, that concurring in the same opinions and pretences, we shall not by an unnatural war weaken the main strength of this Kingdom, and advance the designe of our common Enemies, who long since have devoured us in their hopes. My Lord, the Exigent of the time will not suffer us to make any laboured Declarations of our Intentions, but onely this, That on the Faith of Subjects,

jects, the Honour and Reputation of Gentlemen and Souldiers, we will with our lives maintain that which His Majesty shall publickly promise in order to a bloodlesse peace, nor shall it be in the power of any private person to divert this resolution of ours, and the same we expect from you: And now we must take leave to protest, That if this our proffer be neglected, (which we make neither in fear of your power, nor distrust of our own, but onely touched with the approaching miseries of our Nation) That what calamities shall oppresse posterity, will lie heavy on the souls and consciences of those that shall decline this Overture; which we cannot hope so seasonably to make again, if this Coniuncture be let go: And therefore it is desired that your Lordship, and six other persons may meet our General to morrow (at such an indifferent place as you shall think fit) attended with as many; or if you shall finde that any way inconvenient, to come in person, That then your Lordship will appoint such or so many to meet with the like number from hence, that may consider of all means possible to reconcile these unhappy differences and misunderstandings that have so long afflicted the Kingdom. And for the security of your Lordship, and those that shall come with, and be employed by your Lordship, We do engage our Faith and Honour, and do expect the same from your Lordship, desiring withall your very speedy Answer, which must be a guide to our proceedings. Concluding, that if this shall be refused, we shall hold our selves justified before God and Men, whatsoever shall be the successe, so we rest

From the Army the 8
of August 1644.

*Your Lordships humble
Servants,*

Maurice, Tho. Wentworth, Lindsey, Lo. Hopton,
Northampton, Cleaveland, Tho. Blagge, Jos. Bam-
scild,

feild, Anth. Thelwel, Joh. Owen, Tho. Stradling, Robert Howard, John Stocker, Edw. Porter, Gilbert Armestrong, Rich. Nevel, Tho. Pigat, Jo. Browne, Ad. Scroope, Amy Pollard, Ja. Hamilton, Richard Thornil, Jo. Topping, Ja. Dundasse, Gyles Strange-ways, R. Smith, James Cary, Brainford, Percey, Jacob. Asteley, Rich. Cave, Bar. Stewart, Barnard Asteley, Theo. Gilby, Will. Leighton, Will. Murrey, Tho. Blackwel, Tho. Bellingham, Richard Page, Bar. Jenckes, Hen. Miller, Rich. Fielding, Tho. Weston, Paul Smith, G. Mouldsworth, Phil. Honeywood, Tho. Culpeper, William Leake, Jo. Luntler, Jo. Monck, Cha. Fawlke, Rich. Samuel, Arth. Slingsby, Geo. Goring, Joseph Wagstaffe, Tho. Basset, Char. Lloyd, Geo. Lilley, Will. Saint Leger, Hen. Lundesford, Barth. Pel, Hen. Shelley, Tho. Paulet, Thom. Kyrron, Anth. Brochet, Devery Leigh, David Stringer, Ja. Mowbray, Cha. Compton, Ed. Nottr, Alex. Standish, Jo. Ridech, Jo. Steward, Jo. Gambling, Jo. Grien-vile, Arth. Heningham, James Hafwel, W. Maxwell.

23.
*To Prince Rupert, after the losse of Bristol,
 August 3. 1645. From Cardiffe.*

C. R.

Nephew, this is occasioned by a Letter of yours which the Duke of Richmond shewed Me yesternight. And first I assure you, I have been, and ever will be very careful to advertise you of My resolutions, so soon as they were taken; and if I enjoyed silence to that which was no secret, it was not My fault, for I thought it one, and I am sure it ought to have been so. Now as for your opinion of My businessse, and your counsell thereupon, if I had any other quarrel but the defence of My Religion, Crown, and Friends,

Friends, you had full reason for your advice. For I confesse that speaking either as a meer Souldier or Statesman, I must say there is no probability, but of My ruine; yet as a Christian I must tell you, that God will not suffer Rebels and Traytors to prosper, nor this cause to be overthrown. And whatsoever personal punishment it shall please Him to inflict upon Me, must not make Me repine, much lesse give over this quarrel; and there is as little question that a composition with them at this time, is nothing else but a submission, which by the grace of God I am resolved against whatsoever it cost Me; for I know My obligation to be both in conscience and honour, neither to abandon Gods cause, injure My Successours, nor forsake My friends: Indeed I cannot flatter My self with expectation of good successe, more then this, to end My dayes with honour and a good conscience, which obligeth Me to continue My endeavours, in not despairing, that God may yet in due time avenge his own cause, though I must aver to all My friends, that he that will stay with Me at this time, must expect and resolve, either to dye for a good cause, or (which is worse) to live as miserable in maintaining it, as the violence of insulting Rebels can make him.

Having thus truly and impartially stated My case unto you, and plainly told you My resolutions, which by the grace of God I will not alter, they being neither lightly or suddenly grounded, I earnestly desire you not in any wise to hearken now after treaties, assuring you, that as low as I am, I will do no more then was offered in My Name at *Uxbrige*, confessing that it were as great a miracle that they should agree to so much reason, as that I should be within a month in the same condition that I was immediately before the battel at *Naseby*. Therefore for Gods sake let Us not flatter Our selves with these conceits. And believe Me, your very imagination, that you are desirous of a Treaty, will but lose Me so much the sooner:
Wherefore

Wherefore as you love Me, whatsoever you have already done, apply your discourse hereafter according to My resolution and judgement.

As for the *Irish*, I assure you they shall not cheat Me, but it is possible they may cozen themselves: for be assured, what I have refused to the *English*, I will not grant to the *Irish* Rebels, never trusting to that kind of people (of what Nation soever) more then I see by their actions. And I am sending to *Ormond* such a dispatch, as I am sure will please you and all honest Men, a copy whereof by the next opportunity you shall have. Lastly, be confident, I would not have put you nor My Self to the trouble of this long Letter, had I not a great estimation of you, and a full confidence of your friendship too.

Charles R.

Cardiffe, August 3. 1645.

25.

*To the Marquess of Ormond, June 11. 1646.
From Newcastle.*

C. R.

Right trusty, &c. Having long with much grief looked upon the sad condition Our Kingdom of *Ireland* hath been in these divers yeers through the wicked and desperate Rebellion there, and the bloody effects have ensued thereupon; for the settling whereof We would have wholly applied Our Selves, if the difference betwixt Us and Our Subjects here had not diverged and withdrawn Us: and not
having

having been able by force (for that respect) to reduce them, We were necessitated for the present safety of Our Protestant Subjects there, to give you power and authority to treat with them, upon such pious, honourable, and safe grounds as the good of that Our Kingdom did then require. But for many reasons too long for a Letter, We think fit to require you to proceed no further in treaty with the Rebels, nor to engage Us upon any conditions with them after fight hereof. And having formerly found such real proofs of your ready obedience to Our commands, We doubt not of your care in this, wherein Our service and the good of Our Protestant Subjects in *Ireland*, is so much concerned.

From Newcastle, June 11, 1646.

26.

To the Governours of His Majesties Garrisons, June 10. 1646. From Newcastle.

THis is added to His Majesties twenty fourth Message for peace, where the Reader may finde it.

26.

To the Duke of York, July 4. 1647.
From Cawsham.

C. R.

JAMES, I am in hope, that you may be permitted, with your Brother, and Sister, to come to some place, betwixt this and London, where I may see you.

To this end therefore, I command you, to ask leave of the two Houses, to make a journey (if it may be) for a night or two.

But rather then not to see you; I will be content that ye come to some convenient place to dine, and go back at night.

And foreseeing the fear of your being brought within the power of the Army, as I am, may be objected, to hinder this My desire:

I have full assurance from Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, and the chief Officers, that there will be no interruption, or impediment, made by them, for your return, how, and when ye please. So God blesse you.

Casam, July 4. 1647.

Your loving Father,
Charles R.

POST-SCRIPT.

Send Me word as soon as you can of the time, and place, where I shall have the contentment of seeing you, your Brother, and Sister.

27.

To the Marquesse of Ormond, April 3. 1646.
From Oxford.

The Reader is to take notice, that this Letter and the next, should have come in after the 23, as appears by their date.

C. R.

Right trusty, and entirely beloved Cousin, and Councillour, We greet you well. Having used all possible and honourable means, by sending many gracious Messages to the two Houses of Parliament, wherein We have offered them all they have heretofore desired, and desire from them nothing but what they themselves (since these unhappy wars) have offered, to procure Our personal Treaty with them for a safe and well grounded peace: and having in stead of a dutifull and peaceable return to Our said Messages, received either no answer at all, or such as argues nothing will satisfie them, but the ruine not onely of Us, Our Posterity, and Friends, but even of Monarchy it self: And having lately received very good security, that We, and all that do or shall adhere to Us, shall be safe in Our persons, honours, and consciences, in the Scottish Army, and that they shall really and effectually joyn with Us, and with such as will come in unto Us, and joyn with them for Our preservation, and shall imploy their Armies and Forces to assist Us to the procuring of a happy and well grounded peace for the good of Us and Our Kingdoms, in the recovery of Our just Right, We have resolved to put Our selves to the hazard of passing into the Scots' Army now lying before Newark: And if it shall please God that We come safe thither, We are resolved to use
Our

Our best endeavour with their assistance, and with the conjunction of the Forces under the Marquesse of *Montrosse*, and such of Our well-affected Subjects of *England* as shall rise for Us, to procure it may be an honourable and speedy peace, with those who hitherto refused to give ear to any meanes tending thereunto: of which Our resolution We held it necessary to give you this advertisement, as well to satisfie you and all Our Council and loyal Subjects with you (to whom We will that you communicate these Our Letters) yet failing in Our earnest and sincere endeavours by Treaty, to put an end to the miseries of these Kingdoms. We esteemed Our Self obliged to leave no probable expedient unattempted to preserve Our Crown and Friends, from the usurpation and tyranny of those, whose actions declare so manifestly their designs, to overthrow the Laws and happy established government of this Kingdom. And now We have made known to you Our resolution, We recommend to your special care the disposing and managing of Our affairs on that side, as that you shall conceive most for Our honour and service, being confident the course We have taken (though with some hazard to Our person) will have a good influence on that Our Kingdom, and defer, if not altogether prevent, the Rebels transporting of Forces from them into that Kingdom. And We desire you to satisfie all Our well affected Subjects on that side, of Our Princely care of them, whereof they shall receive the effect, as soon as God shall enable Us. We desire you to use some means to let Us and Our Council at *Oxon* hear frequently from you, and of your actions and condition there. And so God prosper your Loyal Endeavours.

Given at Our Court at Oxon, April 3. 1646.

28.

*To the Prince of Wales, June 2. 1646.
From Newcastle.*

Charls,

THis is rather to tell you where I am, and that I am well, then at this time to direct you any thing, I having wrote fully to your Mother, what I would have you to do; whom I command you to obey in every thing, except in Religion; concerning which, I am confident, she will not trouble you; and see that you go not any whether, without her or My particular directions. Let Me hear often from you, and so, God bleſſe you.

Newcastle, June 2. 1646.

Your loving Father,

Charls R.

If *Jack Ashburnham* come where you are, command him to wait upon you, as he was wont, until I shall send for him, if your Mother and you be together; if not, he must wait on her.

**Oliver Maynel.
Lanerick.**

*Superscribed,
For My Son the Prince.*

K

TO

29.

*To Colonel Whaley, November 11. 1647.**From Hampton-Court.*

Colonel Whaley; I have been so civilly used by you and Major *Huntington*, that I cannot but by this parting farewell acknowledge it under My hand; as also to desire the continuance of your courtesie, by your protecting of My Householdstuff and Moveables of all sorts, which I leave behinde Me in this House, that they be neither spoiled nor imbelled: Onely there are three Pictures here which are not mine, that I desire you to restore; to wit My Wives Picture in blew sitting in a Chair, you must send to Mrs. *Kirk*. My eldest daughters Picture copied by *Belcam*, to the Countesse of *Anglesey*, and my Lady *Stannops* Picture to *Cary Rawley*; there is a fourth which I had almost forgot, it is the Original of My eldest Daughter (it hangs in this chamber over the board next to the Chimney) which you must send to my Lady *Aubigny*. So being confident that you wish My preservation and restitution, I rest

*Your Friend,***CHARLS R.**

I Assure you it was not the Letter you shewed Me to day, that made Me take this resolution, nor any advertisement of that kinde; But I confesse that I am loath to be made a close prisoner, under pretence of securing My life. I had almost forgot to desire you to send the black Grew Bitch to the D. of *Richmond*.

To

30.

*To the Lord Mountague; Novemb. 11. 1647.**From Hampton-Court: with a Letter from
E.R. to His Majesty, Nov. 9. 1647.*

Mountague, First I do hereby give you and the rest of your fellows thanks for the civilities and good conversation that I have had from you; next I command you to send this My Message (which you will finde upon this Table) to the two Houses of Parliament, and likewise to give a copy of it to Colonel Whaley, to be sent to send to the General: likewise I desire you to send all My Saddle-Horses to My Son the Duke of York: as for what concerns the resolution that I have taken, My declaratory Message sayes so much that I refer you to it, and so I rest

*Your assured Friend,**Charles R.**May it please your Majesty,*

IN discharge of My duty I cannot omit to acquaint you, that My Brother was at a meeting last night with eight or nine Agitators, who in debate of the Obstacle which did most hinder the speedy effecting of their designs, did conclude it was your Majesty, and as long as your Majesty doth live you would be so; and therefore resolved, for the good of the Kingdom, to take your life away; and that to that action they were well assured, that Master Dell, and Master Peters (two of their Preachers) would willingly bear them company; for they had often said to these Agitators, your Majesty is but a dead Dog: My prayers are for your Majesties safety; but do too much fear it cannot be whilst you are in those hands.

I wish with my soul Your Majesty were at my house in *Broadstreet*, where I am confident I could keep You private till this storm were over, but beg Your Majesties pardon, and shall not presume to offer it as an advice; it is onely my constant zeal to Your Service, who am

Your Majesties dutiful Subject,

Novemb. 9. 1647.

E.R.

31.

To Sir Thomas Fairfax, Novemb. 26. 1647.

From Carisbrook-Castle.

C. R.

HAVING left order at Our remove from *Hampton-Court*, that a copy should be given you, of what We had then written to both Houses of Parliament touching the causes of Our withdrawing, and the continuance of Our resolutions to improve every occasion of the satisfaction of all chief interests, that so a happy peace may be settled in Our Dominions: In pursuance whereof, We have lately sent a Message to both Houses from this place, and a copy of it to you: and being desirous in order to that blessed work, to give you Our present sense upon the condition of affairs as they now stand: We have thought fit to appoint Sir *John Barkley* to repair unto you, and to communicate the same to you: And We shall be glad by him to receive a mutual communication of your sense also, upon this subject; not doubting, but you easily perceive by the late disorders, into what a depth of confusion the Army and the Nation will fall, if timely and effectual preventions be not used, and therefore We have now again proposed (as the onely expedient) a personal Treaty, for the composing of all differences, and fulfilling the desires of all interests, to which if you will imploy your credit, as you cannot but expect the blessings of God upon

upon your endeavours therein; so may you justly look for the best return that ever Our condition shall be able to make you.

Given at Carisbrook-Castle, Novemb. 26. 1647.

For Sir Thomas Fairfax General.

32:

To Sir Thomas Fairfax, Novemb. 27. 1647.

From Carisbrook-Castle.

C. R.

THe free liberty which you willingly afforded Us to have of the use of Our Chaplains, makes Us at this time not onely to acknowledge your former civilities, but likewise now to acquaint you that three of Our Chaplains, to wit, Dr. *Sheldon*, Dr. *Holdsworth*, and Dr. *Haywood*, are newly landed in this Isle, not doubting but they shall have the same protection that formerly they had, which still will shew the continuation of your good respect unto Us, which We upon all fitting occasions shall not be backward to acknowledge. So We bid you heartily farewell.

Given at Carisbrook-Castle, Novemb. 27. 1647.

For Sir Thomas Fairfax General.

33

To the Lords, Gentlemen, and Committee, of the Scotch Parliament, together with the Officers of the Army,
July 3. 1648. From Carisbrook-Castle.

MY Lords and Gentlemen: it is no smal comfort to Me, that My Native Countrey hath so true a sense of My present condition, as I finde expressed by your Letter of the eighth of this moneth, and your Declaration, both which I received upon Friday last, and the very same reason which makes you Discreetly and Generously at this time, forbear to presse any thing to Me, hinders Me likewise to make any particular professions unto

K 3

you,

you, lest it may be imagined that desire of liberty should now be the onely Secretary to My thoughts : Yet thus much I cannot but say ; that, as in all humane Reason, nothing but a *free personal Treaty* with Me, can settle the unhappy Distractions of these distressed Kingdoms : So, if that could once be had, I would not doubt, but, that (by the grace of God) a happy peace would soon follow. Such force (I believe) true Reason has in the hearts of all Men, when it may be clearly and calmly heard ; and I am not ashamed, at all times to professe, that it hath, and so shall be alwayes want of understanding, not of will, if I do not yeeld to Reason, whensoever, and from whomsoever I hear it : and it were a strange thing, if Reason should be lesse esteemed, because it comes from Me, which (truly) I do not expect from you : your Declaration seeming to Me, (and I hope your actions will prove, that I am not deceived) to be so well grounded upon *Honour and Justice* ; that albeir by way of opinion, I cannot give a *Placet* to every Clause in it ; Yet I am confident upon a calm and friendly Debate, We shall very well agree. To conclude ; I cannot (for the present) better shew My thankfulnesse to you, for the generous and loyal expressions of your affections to Me, then by giving you My honest and sincere advice ; which is, really and constantly, without seeking private ends, to pursue the publick professions in your Declaration, as sincere Christians and good Subjects ought to do, alwayes remembring, that as the best foundation of Loyalty is Christianity ; so true Christianity teaches perfect Loyalty ; for without this reciprocation, neither is truly what they pretend to be : But I am both confident that needs not to you, as likewise that you will rightly understand this, which is affectionately intended by your assured Friend,

C.R.

Charisbrock, Monday 31 July 1648.

His

His MAJESTIES
PRIVATE LETTERS
to the
QUEEN
and others :

With the QUEENS Letters to His MAJESTY, Intercepted and Published by the Parliament : With His MAJESTIES Letter to Secretary NICHOLAS concerning the publishing of them, and part of one of His MAJESTIES Declarations concerning the same.

Wherein do evidently appear to His MAJESTIES Honour (contrary to the intention of the first publishers) His *Majesties* Princely Wisdom, and Piety, with the Reality and Truth of His publick professions ; and that His ends were onely the peace and happinelle of His Subjects, by their submission to His just Regal Power.

*His Majesties Letter to Secretary Nicholas,
concerning the Parliaments intercerpting
and publishing His Letters.*

Cardiffe, Aug. 4. 1645.

Nicholas, I

HAVING commanded your fellow Secretary to give you a full account, as well of Our proceedings here, as resolutions, I will neither trouble you nor My Self with repetitions; onely for My Self, I must desire you to let every one know, that no distresses of Fortune whatsoever, shall make Me by the grace of God, in any thing recede from those grounds I laid down to you who were My Commissioners at *Uxbridge*, and which (I thank them) the Rebels have published in print: and though I could have wished their pains had been spared, yet I will neither deny that those things are Mine, which they have set out in My Name, (only some words here and there are mistaken, and some Comma's misplaced, but not much material) nor as a good Protestant or honest man, blush for any of those papers. Indeed, as a discreet man I will not justify My Self; and yet I would fain know him who would be willing, that the freedom of all his private Letters were publicly seen, as mine have now been. However, so that one clause be rightly understood, I care not much though the rest take their Fortune: It is concerning the *Mungrel* Parliament. The truth is, that *Suffex* his factiousnesse at that time, put Me somewhat out of patience, which made Me freely vent My displeasure against those of his party to My Wife: and the intention of that phrase was, that his Faction did what they could to make it come to that, by their raising and fomenting of base Propositions. This is clearly evidenced by My following excuse to her, for suffering those people to trouble her

her, the reason being to eschew those greater inconveniences which they had, and were more likely to cause here, then there. I am now going to supper, and so I rest

Your most assur'd Friend,

C. R.

Part of His Majesties Declaration of June 3. 1643. concerning some of the said Letters intercepted and published 1643.

BUt they have found a Letter of His Majesties to the Queen, which shews that the great and eminent places of the Kingdom are disposed of by her advice, (and then conclude from her Religion, that they are by consequence disposed of by the advice of Papists and Jesuits) and that the persons there named, even during the sitting of Parliament, are either all impeacht by them, or bear arms against them. To this His Majesty replies: 1. That He cannot but deplore the condition of the Kingdom when Letters of all sorts of Husbands to Wives, even of His Majesty to His Royal Consort are intercepted, read, brought in Evidence, and publisht to the World: 2. That if they will remember how far many of those persons of both Sexes, who have received most notable marks of favour from her Majesty, are, even in their own opinion, from so much as inclining to Popery, they must confesse her favours and recommendations not to be disposed of by Priests and Jesuits. 3. That the places there named in which her Majesties advice may seem to be desired; are not places (as they call it) of the Kingdome, but private menial places, a Treasurer of the Household, a Captain of the Pensioners, and a Gentleman of the Bed-chamber; That concerning the other more publick places, His Majesty absolutely declares Himself, without lea-

ving room for her advice, which seems to prove the contrary to that, which by this they intend to prove. Fourthly, That of the persons there named, there is not one that either is a Papist, or so like one, that a Jesuite may be thought to have recommended him, nor any one (except the Lord Digby) that was either impeacht, or otherwise taxt, or that could appear to His Majesty to have ever been in any degree disliked by both or either House, before assisting His Majesty against a Rebellion did lately become Treason: And whosoever considers the time and other circumstances even of that impeachment, and that their eyes were then so dazeled with Fears and Jealousies, as to take a Coach and six Horses for an Army raised against them, will hardly look upon that impeachment with that reverence which hath usually been paid to accusations of that kinde: And for their bearing of arms in such a time, wherein all His Majesties Subjects do either bear or assist arms either for or against Him, He supposes that it wil not be thought strange, if He chuse persons for such places as are in His own disposal, rather out of the first sort then out of the second.

And as His Majesty hath fully answered their Observations upon His Letters, so He believes that one thing more (though unobserved by this Declaration) cannot but be observed out of them by His people; and that is, That in His Majesties most private Letters, to the person nearest to Him, wherein He cannot (as by some in His publick Declarations He is) be suspected to say any thing out of designe or policy, His own clear perswasion, that the Rebels, and not He, have been the cause and are the Fosterers of this War and universal distraction, and His sense of it, and His desire of the end of it, are so plainly exprest, that they will by this accident be much satisfied with his Majesties innocence and reality, and beleieve that the reading this in such a Letter, is the very next degree to reading it in His Heart.

To

I.

To the Queen, January 23. 1642. Oxford.

DEAR Heart, Saturday and Sunday last, I received two from thee, of the 29 of December, 9 of January, both which, gave Me such contentment, as thou mayest better judge, then I describe; the which, that thou mayest the better do, know, I was full three weeks wanting but one day, without hearing from thee, besides skurvy London news of thy stay and lameness, which though I did not believe, yet it vext Me so much the more, that I could not prove them liars: So now I conjure thee by the affections thou bearest Me, not onely to judge, but likewise participate with Me in the contentment thou hast given Me by assuring Me of thy health and speedy return, concerning 45.31.7.4.132.300. I will answer thee in thy own words, *Je le remettray a vous respondre per bouche*, being confident that way to give thee contentment: in the mean time assure thy Self, That I neither have, nor will lose any time in that businesse, and that I have not contented My Self with Generals: and though I hope shortly to have the happinesse of thy company, yet I must tell thee of some particulars in which I desire both thy opinion and assistance: I am persecuted concerning places, & all desire to be put upon thee, for the which I cannot blame them: and yet thou knowest I have no reason to do it, Newark desireth Savills place, upon condition, to leave it when his father dieth; Carenworth, the same, being contented to pay for it, or give the profit to whom, or how I please: Digby and Dunsmore, for to be Captain of the Pentioners, Hartford once looked after it; but now I believe he expects either to be Treasurer, or of My Bed-chamber; I incline rather to the latter if thou like it, for I absolutely hold Cot-

tington

tington the fittest man for the other. There is one that doth not yet pretend, that doth deserve as well as any, I mean *Capel*; therefore I desire thy assistance to finde some what for him before he ask. One place I must fill before I can have thy opinion, It is the Master of the Wards; I have thought upon *Nicholas*, being confident that thou wilt not mislike My choice; and if he cannot perform both, *Ned Hyde* must be Secretary, for indeed, I can trust no other. Now I have no more time to speak of more, but to desire thee not to engage thy Self for any:

Dated *Oxford*.

So I rest eternally thine,

20 Feb. 23 Jan.

C R.

2.

To the Queen, March 2. 1642. *Oxford*.

DEAR Heart, Though ever since Sunday last, I had good hopes of thy happy landing, yet I had not the certain news thereof, before yesterday, when I likewise understood of thy safe coming to *York*: I hope thou expectst not welcome from Me in words, but when I shall be wanting in any other way (according to My wit and power) of expressing My love to thee, then, let all honest men hate & eschew Me, like a Monster: and yet when I shall have done My part, I confesse, that I shall come short of what thou deservest of Me.

H. 3.

*H. 3. 189.e 3.42.17.25.27.39.21.66: a 1.45.31 7. 4. 32. 18. 47.46.9.3. d 4.g.4.46.35.67.48.7.40.5.43. 74. 3. 41. 7. 33.62.8.63.68.50.64.34.9.51.45.69.46. 37. deer 45. 31. 7. 1. 33.18.49.47.19.21.10.70.13.7. 45.58.8.9.41.10. this a 2. 324. in the mean time 46.31. 7. 50.e 3. 20. 3.6.8.48.75.41.9.2. upon 60.19.50.61. 27.26.7.69.12.19.4745.8.24. Yesterday there was Articles of a Cessation brought Me from London, but so unreasonable that I cannot grant them: yet to undeceive the people by shewing it is not I, but those who have caused and fostered this Rebellion, that desire the continuance of this war and universal distraction: I am framing Articles fit for that purpose, both which, by My next, I mean to send thee, 219. b 3. 58. 51.75.46.7.3.45.37.2.189.46.38.1. g 1. 173 131. which I think fit to be done, a 5.4.30.3. n 5. d 3. 46. 31. 8. 10.2.32.18.64.7.3.45.31.9.66.46.32. 19.41.25.48. k 1.e 4.67.69.63. I am now confident that 173. is right for My service: Since the taking of *Cicester*, there is nothing of note done of either side, wherefore that little news that is, I leave to others; onely this I assure thee, That the distractions of the Rebels are such, that so many fine designs are laid open to Us, We know not which first to undertake: but certainly My first and chiefeest care is, and shall be to secure thee, and hasten Our meeting: So long- ing to hear from thee, I rest eternally thine.*

Oxford, 12 March, 1642.

C. R.

THe last I received of thine was dated the ¹⁵ Febr. and I believe none of My four last are come to thee; their dates are ¹¹ ²³ ²⁵ Febr. and 20 Febr. or March 2.

To

3.

To the Queen, February 13. 1643.

DEAR HEART, I never till now knew the good of Ignorance, for I did not know the danger that thou wert in by the storm, before I had certain assurance of thy happy escape; We having had a pleasing false report, of thy safe landing at *Newcastle*, which thine of the 19 of *January* so confirmed Us in, that We, at least were not undeceived of that hope, till We knew certainly how great a danger thou hast past, of which I shall not be out of apprehension, until I may have the happinesse of thy company, for indeed I think it not the least of My misfortunes, that for My sake thou hast run so much hazard; in which thou hast expressed so much love to Me, that I confesse it is impossible to repay, by any thing I can do, much lesse by words; but My heart being full of affection for thee, admiration of thee, and impatient passion of gratitude to thee, I could not but say something, leaving the rest to be read by thee, out of thine own noble heart. The intercepting of mine to thee, of the 23 of *February* has bred great discourse in several persons, and of several kindes, as My saying I was persecuted for places, is applyed to all, and onely those that I there name to be Suitors: whereas the truth is, I meant thereby the importunity of others, whom at that time I had not time to name, as wel as some there mentioned: for I confesse 174 and 133 are not guilty of that fault: some finde fault with too much kindness to thee (thou maist easily vote from what constellation that comes) but I assure such, that I want expression, not will, to do it ten times more to thee on all occasions: others presse Me as being brought upon the Stage; but I answer, that having profest to have thy advice, it were a wrong to thee to do any thing

thing before I had it. As for Our Treaty (leaving the particulars to this inclosed) I am confident thou wilt be content with it, as concerning My part in it, for all the souldiers are well pleased with what I have done, but expect no cessation of arms, for the Lower House will have none without a disbanding, and I will not disband till all be agreed: Lastly, for Our Military affairs, I thank God that here, and in the West they prosper well; as for the North I refer thee to 226, 140 information: so daily expecting and praying for good news from thee, &c.

Copy to my Wife 13 Febr. 1643.

Oxford, 13 Febr. 1643.

a true copy,

Zouche Tate.

4.

To the Queen, January 1. 1644. Oxford.

Oxford, Jan. 1. 1644.

DEAR Heart, I receive it as a good Augure thus to begin this new year, having newly received thine of the 30 of December, which I cannot stay to decipher, for not losing this opportunity, it likewise being a just excuse for this short account: This day I have dispatched Digbies Sec. fully relating the state of Our affairs, therefore I shall only now tell thee, that the Rebels are engaged into an equal treaty, without any of those disadvantages which might have been apprehended, when Tom Elliot went hence, and that the distractions of London were never so great, or so likely to bring good effect, as now lastly that assistance was never more needful, never so likely as now to do good to him who is eternally thine.

Copy to my Wife 1 Jan. 1644. by P. A.

This is a true copy, examined by Miles Corbet.

To

5.

*To the Queen, January 9. 1644. Oxford.**Oxford, January 9.*

DEAR Heart, since My last, which was by *Talbot*, the Scots Commissioners have sent to desire Me to send a Commission to the General Assembly in *Edinburgh*, which I am resolved not to do; but to the end of making some use of this occasion, by sending an honest man to *London*, and that I may have the more time for the making an handsome negative, I have demanded a passeport for *Philip Warwick*, by whom to return My answer. I forgot in My former to tell thee, that *Lentall* the Speaker brags, that Cardinal *Mazarin* keeps a strict intelligence with him; though I will not swear that *Lentall* sayes true, I am sure it is fit for thee to know. As for *Sabrian*, I am confident that either he or his instructions are not right for him who is eternally thine.

Even now I am advertised from *London*, that there are three or four Lords, and eight Commons (besides four Scotch Commissioners) appointed to treat, and they have named *Uxbridge* for the place, though not yet the particular persons. I am likewise newly advertised that General *Goring* prospers well where he is, and since Munday last hath taken 80 of the Rebels Horse: and upon his advance they have quitted *Peterfield* and *Coudry*.

P O S T S C R I P T.

The settling of Religion, and the *Militia*, are the first to be treated on: and be confident, that I will neither quit Episcopacy, nor that sword which God hath given into My hands.

Copy to my Wife 9 Jan. 1644. By P.A.

This is a true copy, examined by *Edm. Prideaux*.

To

6.

To the Queen, January 14. 1644. Oxford.

Dear Heart,

Poonly came the ²² of Januar. to whose great dispatch, though for some dayes I cannot give a full answer, I cannot but at this opportunity reply to something in thy Letter, not without relating to something of his discourse.

As I confesse it a misfortune (but deny it a fault) thy not hearing oftner from Me, so excuse Me to deny that it can be of so ill consequence as thou mentionest, if their affections were so real, as they make shew of to thee; for the difficulty of sending is known to all, and the numbers of each Letter will shew My diligence, and certainly there goes no great wit to finde out wayes of sending; wherefore if any be neglected more, then Our wits are faulty: but to imagine that it can enter into the thought of any flesh living, that any body here should hide from thee what is desired that every one should know (excuse Me to say it) is such a folly, that I shall not believe that any can think it though he say it: And for my affection to thee, it will not be the miscarrying of a Letter or two that will call it in question; but take heed that these discourses be not rather the effect of their weariness of thy company, then the true image of their thoughts; and of this is not the proposal of thy journey to *Ireland*, a pretty instance? For seriously of it self, I hold it one of the most extravagant propositions that I have heard, thy giving ear to it, being most assuredly onely to to expresse thy love to Me, and not thy judgement in My affaires:

As

As for the businesse it self, (I mean the peace of *Ireland*) to shew thee the care I have had of it, and the fruits I hope to receive from it; I have sent thee the last dispatches, I have sent concerning it, earnestly desiring thee to keep them to thy self, onely thou maist in general let the *Q. Regent* and Ministers there understand, that I have offered My Irish Subjects so good satisfaction, that a peace will shortly ensue, which I really beleeve. But for Gods sake let none know the particulars of My dispatches. I cannot but tell thee, that I am much beholding to the Portugal Agent (& little to the French) it being by his means that I have sent thee all My Letters, (besides expresses) since I came hither, though I expected most from *Sabran*.

‘I will not trouble thee with repetitions of newes, ‘*Digbys* dispatch which I have seen being so full, that ‘I can adde nothing; yet I cannot but paraphrase a ‘little upon that which he cals his superstitious obser- ‘vation: It is this, nothing can be more evident, ‘then that *Straffords* innocent blood hath been one of ‘the great causes of Gods just judgements upon this ‘Nation by a furious civil war, both sides hitherto ‘being almost equally punished, as being in a manner ‘equally guilty: but now this last crying blood, be- ‘ing totally theirs; I beleeve it is no presumption ‘hereafter to hope that his hand of justice must be ‘heavier upon them, and lighter upon Us, looking ‘now upon Our Cause, having passed by Our faults.

This is a true copy exa-
mined by *E. Prideaux*.

7.

To the Queen, January 22. 1644. Oxford.

DEAR Heart. Since My last by *Shoquen* I have had no means of writing, and as little new matter : That which is now, is the progresse of the Treaty, of which, these enclosed papers will give thee a full account : but if thou have them sooner from *London* then Me, thou hast no reason to wonder, considering the length and uncertainty of the way I am forced to send by, in respect of the other : For the businesse it self, I believe thou wilt approve of My choise of Treaters, and for My propositions, they differ nothing in substance (very little in words) from those which were last : wherefore I need to say nothing of them ; and for My instructions they are not yet made, but by the next I hope to send them : Now upon the whole matter I desire thee to shew the Q. and Ministers there, the improbability that this present Treaty should produce a peace, considering the great strange difference (if not contrariety) of grounds that are betwixt the Rebels propositions and mine, and that I cannot alter mine, nor will they ever theirs, until they be out of hope to prevail by force, which a little assistance by thy means, will soon make them so : for I am confident, if ever I could put them to a defensive (which a reasonable sum of money would do) they would be easily brought to reason. Concerning Our *interferings* here at *Oxford* I desire thee to suspend thy judgement, (for I beleeeve few but partial relations will come to thee) until I shall send some whom I may trust by word of mouth ; it being too much trouble to Us both to set them down in paper.

Copy to my Wife 22 Jan. 1644.

This is a true copy examined by *Miles Corbet*.

To

8.

To the Queen, January 30. 1644 Oxford.

Dear heart,

Sunday last I received three Letters from thee; Sone a Duplicate of the 30 Decemb. another of the 6 Ian. and the last of the 14 Ian. and even now one *Petit* is come with a Duplicate of the last; wherein, as I infinitely joy in the expressions of thy confident love of Me, so I must extreemly wonder, that any who pretend to be a friend to Our Cause, (for I believe thou wouldest not mention any information from the other side) can invent such lies, that thou hast had ill offices done to Me by any; or that they care for My assistance, hath been the least suspected, it being so far from truth, that the just contrary is true. For I protest to God I never heard thee spoken of, but with the greatest expressions of estimation for thy love to Me, and particularly for thy diligent care for My assistance: But I am confident that it is a branch of that root of knavery which I am now digging at, and of this I have more then a bare suspicion: And indeed, if I were to finde fault with thee, it should be for not taking so much care of thine own health as of My assistance, at least not giving Me so often account of it as I desire; these three last, making no mention of thy Self. Now as for the Treaty (which begins this day,) I desire thee to be confident, that I shall never make a peace by abandoning My friends, nor such an one as will not stand with My honour and safety; of which I will say no more, because knowing thy love, I am sure thou must believe Me, and make others likewise confident of Me.

I send thee herewith My directions to My Commissioners, but how I came to make them my Self without

without any others Digby will tell thee, with all the news, as well concerning Military as Cabalistical matters. At this time I will say no more, but that I shall in all things, (onely not answering for words) truly shew my Self to be eternally thine.

The Portugal Agent hath made Me two propositions: First, concerning the release of his Masters Brother, for which I shall have 50000*l.* if I can procure his liberty from the King of Spain; the other is for a marriage betwixt My Son *Charls* and his Masters eldest Daughter: For the first I have freely undertaken to do what I can, and for the other, I will give such an answer as shall signifie nothing.

I desire thee not to give too much credit to *Sabrans* relations, nor much countenance to the Irish Agents in *Paris*, the particular reasons thou shalt have by *Pooly*, (whom I intend for My next Messenger.) In the last place I recommend to thee the care of *Gersey* and *Gernesey*, it being impossible for Us here to do much, though We were rich, being weak at Sea.

To my Wife, 30 Jan. 1641. By Legge.

This is a true copy, examined by *Edm. Prideaux*.

9.

To the Queen, March 13. 1644. Oxford.

Dear heart,

What I told thee the last week concerning a good parting with Our Lords and Commons here, was on Monday last handsomely performed, and now if I do any thing unhandsome or disadvantageous to my Self or friends, in order to a Treaty, it will be meerly My own fault, for I confesse when I wrote last, I was in fear to have been pressed to make some mean overtures to

renew the Treaty, (knowing that there were great labourings to that purpose :) But now I promise thee, *If it be renewed, (which I believe will not, without some eminent good successe on My side) it shall be to My honor & advantage, I being now as well freed from the place of base and mutinous motions (that is to say, Our Mungrel Parliament here) as of the chief causers, for whom I may justly expect to be chidden by thee, for having suffered thee to be vexed by them, Wilmot being already there, Percy on his way, and Suffex within few dayes taking his journey to thee, but that I know, thou carest not for a little trouble to free Me from great inconveniences; yet I must tell thee, that if I knew not the perfect steadinesse of thy love to Me, I might reasonably apprehend, that their repair to thee would rather prove a change then an end of their villanies: and I cannot deny, but My confidence in thee, was some cause of this permissive trouble to thee.*

I have received thine of the third of March, by which thou puts Me in hope of assistance of Men and Money, and it is no little expression of thy love to Me, that (because of My businesse) Festivals are troublesome to thee; *But I see that assemblies in no Countries are very agreeable to thee, and it may be done a purpose to make thee weary of their companies, and excuse Me to tell thee in earnest, that it is no wonder, that meer Statesmen should desire to be rid of thee; therefore I desire thee to think, whether it would not advantage thee much, to make a personal friendship with the Queen Regent, (without shewing any distrust of her Ministers, though not wholly trusting to them) and to shew her, that when her Regency comes out (and possibly before) she may have need of her friends, so that she shall but serve her self by helping of thee: and to say no more, but certainly, if this Rebellion had not begun to oppresse Me when it did, a late great Queen had ended more glorious then she did. In the last place I desire thee, to give Me a weekly*

weekly account of thy health, for I fear lest in that alone thou takest not care enough to expresse thy kindnesse to him who is eternally thine.

The Northern news is rather better then what We first heard, for wharby Sir *Marmaduke Langdales*, and *Montrosses* victories, *Carlile* and the rest of Our Northern Garrisons are relieved, and We hope for this year secured; and besides all this, the Northern Horse are already returned and joyned with My Nephew *Rupert*.

To my Wife, 13 March 1644. by P. A.

*This is a true copy examined by
Edmund Prideaux.*

10.

*To the Queen, March 27. 1645. Oxford.
Oxford, Thursday 27 March.*

DEAR Heart, I wrote to thee yesterday by *Sakefield*, the subject of it was onely kindnesse to thee; which, I assure thee shall ever be visible in all My actions: And now I come to *Fermins* account, given Me by thy command, which is very clear, hopeful in most particulars, and absolutely satisfactory as concerning thy care and industry. As for the main impediment in the D. of *Lorrains* businesse (which is his passage) why may thou not procure him passage through *France*? (if that of *Holland* be stuck at) it will much secure and facilitate the Sea transportation in respect of landing on the Western Coast, which I believe will be found the best, there being not so many places to chuse on, any where else. But this is an opinion, not a direction.

The general face of My affairs Me thinks begins to mend, the dissensions at *London* rather increasing then ceasing, *Montrosse* daily prospering, My Western

ern businesse mending apace, and hopeful in all the rest. So that if I had reasonable supplies of money and powder (not to exclude any other,) I am confident to be in a better condition this year, then I have been since this Rebellion began^d, and possibly I may put fair for the whole, and so enjoy thy company again, without which nothing can be a contentment unto Me. And so farewell Dear Heart.

I intend (if thou like it) to bestow *Percies* place on the M. of *Newcastle*, to whom yet I am no wayes engaged, nor will be before I have thy answer. As for *Jack Barclay*, I do not remamber that I gave thee any hope of making of him Mr. of the Wards: For *Cottington* had it long ago before thou went hence, and I intended it to Secretary *Nicholas*, if he then would have received it: and I am deceived if I did not tell thee of it.

I desire thee to command *L. Jer.* to read to thee the *Ds.* Letter, which goes herewith, and in it to mark well that part concerning the transportation of the *D. of Lorrains* Army.

To my Wife, 27 March 1645. by P. A.

This is a true copy examined by *Miles Corbet.*

II.

To the Queen, March 30. 1645. Oxford.

DEAR Heart, since my last (which was butth
dayes ago) there are no alterations hapned of
moment, preparations rather then actions being yet
Our chiefeft businesse, in which We hope that We
proceed faster then the Rebels, whose levies both of
men and money (for certain) goes on very slowly ;
and I believe they are much weaker then is thought,
even here at *Oxford*. For instance, a very honest ser-
vant of mine, and no Fool, shewed Me a proposition
from one of the most considerable *London* Rebels,
who will not let his name be known until he have
hope that his proposition will take effect ; it is this,
That since the Treaty is so broken off, that neither
the Rebels nor I can resume it without at least a seem-
ing total yeelding to the other. The Treaty should
be renewed upon thy motion, with a pre-assurance
that the Rebels will submit to reason. The answer
that I permitted My Servant to give, was, That thou
art the much fittest person to be the means of so hap-
py and glorious a work as is the peace of this King-
dom ; but that upon no terms thy name was to be prophe-
ned, therefore he was to be satisfied of the Rebels wil-
lingnesse to yeeld to reason, before he would consent that any
such intimation should be made to thee, and particularly
concerning Religion and the Militia, that nothing must
be insisted upon but according to my former offers. This I
believe will come to nothing, yet I cannot but adver-
tise thee of any thing that comes to my knowledge of
this consequence.

I must again tell thee, That most assuredly France will be the best way for transportation of the D. of Lorrains Army, there being divers fit and safe places of Landing for them upon the Western Coasts, besides the Ports under My obedience, as Shelsey neer Chichester, and others, of which I will advertise thee when the time comes.

By My next I think to tell thee when We shall march into the field, for which money is now his greatest want (I need say no more) who is eternally thine.

To my Wife, March 30. 1645. by Petit.

**This is a true copy examined
by Edmund Prideaux.**

12.

To the Queen, April 9.. 1645. Oxford.

The little that is here in Cypher is in
that which I sent to thee by Pooly.

Dear Heart

THough it be an uncomfortable thing to write by a slow Messenger, yet all occasions, of this (which is now the only) way of conversing with thee, is so welcom to Me as I shall be loath to lose any; expect neither news or publick busines, from Me, by this way of conveyance; yet judging thee by My Self, even these nothings will not be unwelcome unto thee, though I should chide thee, which if I could I would do, for thy too sudden taking alarms; I pray thee consider, since I love thee above all earthly things, and that My contentment is unseparably conjoynd with thine, must not all My actions tend to serve and please thee? If thou knew what a life I lead, (I speak not in respect of the common distractions) even in point of conversation, which in My minde, is the chief
joy

joy or vexation of ones life, I dare say thou would pity Me; for some are too wise, others too foolish, some too busie, others too reserved, many fantastick. In a word, when I know none better (I speak not now in relation to businesse) then 3. 9. 8. 270. 55. 5. 7. 67. 18. 294. 35. 66. 16. 54. 6. 38. 1. 67. 68. 9. 66. thou may easily judge how My conversation pleaseth Me. I confesse thy company hath perhaps made Me in this, hard to be pleased, but not lesse to be pitied by thee, who art the onely cure for this dis-ease. The end of all is this, to desire thee to comfort Me as often as thou canst with thy Letters; and dost not thou think, that to know particulars of thy health, and how thou spendest the time, are pleasing subjects unto Me, though thou hast no other businesse to write of? believe Me Sweet Heart, thy kindnesse is as necessary to comfort My heart, as thy assistance is for my affairs.

To my Wife 9 April 1645. by Binion.

This is a true copy examined
by Miles Corbet.

13.

To the Queen, May 4. 1645. Oxford.

DEAR Heart, the Rebels new brutish General hath refused to meddle with Forrain Passes, so as yet I cannot dispatch *Adrian May* to thee, by the way of London, which if I cannot very shortly, I will send him by the West; and now, if I could be assured of thy recovery, I could have but few melancholy thoughts, for I thank God My affairs begin to smile upon Me again, *Wales* being well swept of the Rebels. *Farrington* having relieved it self, and now being secured by *Gorings* coming, My Nephews having likewise brought Me a strong party of Horse and Foot, these Quarters are so free that I hope to be marching

L 2

within

within three or four dayes, and am still confident to have the start of the Rebels this year : I am likewise very hopeful that My Son will shortly be in the head of a good Army, for this I have the cheerful assurance of *Culpeper* and *Hyde* : Of late I have been much pressed to make *Southampton* Master of my Horse, not more for good will to him, as out of fear that *Hamilton* might return to a capacity of recosening Me ; wherein if I had done nothing, both jealousy and discontents were like to arise, wherefore I thought fit to put My Nephew *Rupert* in that place, which will both save Me charge, & stop other mens grumblings : I have now no more to say, but praying for and impatiently expecting of good news from thee, I rest eternally thine.

To my Wife 4 May 1645. By *Malin St. Ravy*.

This is a true copy examined by *Edm. Prideaux*.

14.

To the Queen, May 14. 1644. *Droit Wiche*.

Dear heart,

Marching takes away the conveniency of sending My Letters so safe and quick to thee, as when I was at *Oxford*, however I shall not fail to do what I can to send often to thee ; there is so little news for the present as I will leave that subject for others, only upon Saturday last I received a Dispatch from *Montrose*, which assures Me his condition to be so good, that he bids Me be confident that his Countreymen shall do Me no great harm this year ; and if I could lend him but 500 Horse, he would undertake to bring Me 20000 men before the end of this Summer. For the general state of My affairs, We all here think to be very hopeful ; this Army being of a good strength, well ordered, and increasing ; My Sonnes
such,

such, that *Fairfax* will not be refused to be fought with, of which I hope thou wilt receive good satisfaction from himself. Its true that I cannot brag of store of money, but a sharp sword alwayes hinders starving at least; and I believe the Rebels Coffers are not very full (and certainly We shall make as good a shift with empty purses as they) or they must have some greater defect, else their Leavies could not be so backward as they are, for I assure thee that I have at this instant many more men in the field then they. I am not very confident what their Northern Forces are, but except they are much stronger then I am made believe, I may likewise include them.

Now I must make a complaint to thee of My Son *Charles*, which troubles Me the more, that thou maist suspect I seek by equivocating to hide the breach of My word, which I hate above all things, especially to thee: It is this, He hath sent to desire Me, that Sir *John Greenfield* may be sworn Gentleman of his Bed-chamber, but he is already so publickly engaged in it, that the refusal would be a great disgrace both to my Son & the young Gentleman, to whom it is not fit to give a just distaste, especially now, considering his Fathers merits, & his own hopefulnesse, besides the great power that Family has in the West. Yet I have refused the admitting of him until I shall hear from thee. Wherefore I desire thee first to chide my Son for ingaging himself without one of Our consents: then, not to refuse thy own consent: and lastly, to believe that directly or indirectly I never knew of this while yesterday at the delivery of My Sons Letter. So farewell, Sweet heart, and God send Me good news from thee.

To my Wife, May 14. 1645.

This is a true copy, examined by *Miles Corbet*.

15.

*To the Queen, June 9. 1645. Oxford.**Dear Heart,*

Oxford being free, I hope this will come sooner to thee then otherwise I could have expected, which makes Me believe, that My good news will not be very stale, which in short is this, since the taking of *Leicester* My marching down hither to relieve *Oxford* made the Rebels raise their siege before I could come near them, having had their Quarters once or twice beaten up by that Garrison, and lost four hundred men at an assault before *Bostol-house*; at first I thought they would have fought with Me, being marched as far as *Brackley*, but they are since gone to *Brickhil*, so as I believe they are weaker then they are thought to be: whether by their distractions, (which are certainly very great,) *Fairfax* and *Brown* having been at *Cudgels*, and his men and *Cromwells* likewise at blows together, where a Captain was slain, or wasting their men, I will not say: besides *Goring* hath given a great defeat to the Western Rebels, but I do not yet know the particulars; wherefore I may (without being too much sanguine) affirm, that (since this Rebellion) My affairs were never in so fair and hopeful a way, though among Our selves We want not Our own follies, which is needlesse, & I am sure tedious to tell thee, but such as I am confident shall do no harm nor much trouble Me: Yet I must tell thee, that it is thy Letter by *Fitz Williams*, assuring Me of thy perfect recovery with thy wonted kindnesse, which makes Me capable of taking contentment

tentment in these good successes: For as drivers men propose severall recompences to themselves for their pains and hazard in this Rebellion; so thy company is the onely reward I expect and wish for.

To my Wife 9 June, 1645.

This is a true copy, examined by Miles Corbet.

16.

To the Queen, December 1644. Oxford.

Dear heart,

I Know thy affection to Me so truly grounded, that thou wilt be in as much (if not more) trouble, to finde My reputation, as My life in danger: therefore lest the false sound of My offering a Treaty to the Rebels upon base and unsafe terms should disturb thy thoughts, I have thought it necessary (to assure thy minde from such rumours) to tell thee the wayes I have used to come to a Treaty, and upon what grounds. I shall first shew thee My grounds, to the end thou may the better understand and approve of My wayes; Then know (as a certain truth) that all, even My party, are strangely impatient for peace, which obliged Me so much the more (at all occasions) to shew My real intentions to peace; And likewise I am put in very good hope (some hold it a certainty) that if I could come to a fair Treaty, the Ring-leading Rebels could not binder Me from a good peace: First, because their own party are most weary of the War, and likewise for the great distractions which at this time most assuredly are amongst themselves, as Presbyterians against Independents in Religion, and General against General in point of command: Upon these grounds a Treaty being most desirable (not without hope of good successe) the most probable means to procure it was to be used, which might stand with honour and safety, amongst the rest (for I will omit all those which are unquestionably concealable) the

sound of My return to London was thought to have so much force of popular Rhetorick in it, that upon it a Treaty would be had, or if refused, it would bring much prejudice to them, and be advantagious to Me: yet lest foolish or malicious people should interpret this as to proceed from fear or folly, I have joyned conditions with the proposition (without which this sound will signifie nothing) which thou wilt finde to be most of the chief ingredients of an honourable and safe peace. Then observe, if a Treaty at London with Commissioners for both sides may be had without it, it is not to be used; nor, in case they will treat with no body but my Self, so that the conditions saves any asperision of dishonour, and the treating at London the malignity which our factious spirits here may infuse into this Treaty upon this subject. This I hope will secure thee from the trouble which otherwise may be caused by false malicious rumours, and though I judge my Self secure in thy thoughts, from suspecting Me guilty of any baseness, yet I held this account necessary, to the end thou may make others know, as well as thy self, this certain truth, That no danger of death or misery (which I think much worse) shall make Me do any thing unworthy of thy love. For the state of my present affairs I refer thee to 92, concluding (as I did in My last to thee) conjuring thee, as thou lovest Me, that no appearance of peace (and now I adde) nor hopeful condition of mine, make thee neglect to haste succour for him who is eternally thine.

Copy to my Wife, Decemb. 1644. by Tom Elliot.

17.

To the Queen, January 2. 1645. Oxford.

Dear Heart,

HAVING decyphered thine which I received yesterday I was much surprized to finde thee blame Me

Me for neglecting to write to thee, for indeed I have often complained for want, never mist any occasion of sending to thee; and I assure thee never any dispatch went from either of My Secretaries without one from Me, when I knew of it.

As for my calling those at *London* a Parliament, I shall refer thee to *Digby* for particular satisfaction, this in general; If there had been but two (besides my Self) of My opinion, I had not done it, and the Argument that prevailed with Me, was, that the calling did no wayes acknowledge them, to be a Parliament, upon which condition and construction I did it and no otherwayes, and accordingly it is registered in the Councel Books, with the Councels unanimous approbation; but thou wilt finde, that it was by misfortune, not neglect that thou hast been no sooner advertised of it.

As for the conclusion of thy Letter, it would much trouble Me, if thou didst not know thy desire granted before it was asked; yet I wonder not at it, since that which may bear a bad construction hath been presented to thee in the ugliest form, not having received the true reason and meaning of it, the fear of some such mischance made Me the more carefull to give thee a full account by *Tom Elliot*; of the reasons of the D. of R. and E. of S. journey to *London*, which if it come soon enough I am confident will free thee from much trouble, but if thou hast not the patience to forbear judging harshly of my actions, before thou hearest the reasons of them from Me, thou may be often subject to be doubly vext, first with slanders, then with having given too much ear unto them. To conclude, esteem Me as thou findest Me constant to those grounds thou lests Me withall, and so fare well Dear Heart.

Copy to my Wife, 2 Jan. 1644. By P. A.

This is a true copy, examined by *Edm. Prideaux*.

18.

To the Queen, February 19. 1644. Oxford.

DEar heart, I cannot yet send thee any certain word concerning the issue of Our Treaty, only, the unreasonable stubbornesse of the Rebels, gives daily lesse and lesse hopes, of any accommodation this way; wherefore I hope no rumours shall hinder thee from hastning all thou may, all possible assistance to me, and particularly that of the D. of Lorraines; concerning which I received yesterday, good newes from Dr. Goffe, that the P. of Orange will furnish shipping for his transportation, and that the rest of his negotiation goes hopefully on, by which and many other wayes, I finde thy affection so accompanied with dexterity, as I know not whether (in their severall kindes) to esteem most: but I will say no more of this, lest thou may think that I pretend to do this way, what is but possible to be done by the continued actions of My life; though I leave news to others, yet I cannot but tell thee, that even now I have received certain intelligence of a great defeat given to *Argyle by Montrose*; who upon surprize totally routed those Rebels, killed 1500 upon the place. Yesterday I received thine of January 27, by the Portugal Agent, the onely way (but expresse) I am confident on, either to receive Letters from thee, or to send them to thee; indeed *Sabran* sent me word yesterday, besides some complements of the Imbargo of the Rebels ships in France (which I likewise put upon thy score of kindnesse) but is well enough content that the Portugal should be charged with thy dispatches. As for trusting the Rebels either by going to London; or disbanding My Army before a peace, do no wayes fear my hazarding so cheaply or foolishly: for I esteem the interest thou hast in Me at a far dearer rate, and pretend

pretend to have a little more wit (at least by the sympathy that is betwixt Us) then to put my Self into the reverence of perfidious Rebels. So impatiently expecting the expresse thou hast promised me, I rest eternally thine.

I can now assure thee, that *Hertogen* the Irish Agent is an arrant Knave, which shall be made manifest to thee by the first opportunity of sending Pacquers.

To my Wife 19 Febr. 1645. by P. A.

This is a true copy examined by

Edmund Prideaux.

19.

To the Queen, Febr. 25. 1645. Oxford.

DEAR Heart, the expectation of an expresse from thee (as I finde by thine of the 4 Febr.) is very good news to Me, as likewise that thou art now well satisfied with My diligence in writing. As for Our Treary there is every day lesse hopes then other, that it will produce a peace. But I will absolutely promise thee, that if We have one, it shall be such as shall invite thy return. For I avow, that without thy company I can neither have peace nor comfort within my Self. The limited dayes for treating, are now almost expired without the least agreement upon any one Article. Wherefore I have sent for enlargement of dayes, that the whole Treary may be laid open to the World. And I assure thee, that thou needst not doubt the issue of this Treary; for My Commissioners are so well chosen (though I say it) that they will neither be threatned nor disputed from the grounds I have given them, which (upon my word) is according to the little Note thou so well remembers. And in this not onely their obedience, but their judgements concur. I confesse
that

in some respects thou hast reason to bid Me beware of going too soon to *London*: for indeed some amongst us had a greater minde that way then was fit, of which perswasion *Percy* is one of the chief, who is shortly like to see thee, of whom having said this, is enough to shew thee how he is to be trusted, or believed by thee concerning Our proceedings here. In short, there is little or no appearance but that this Summer will be the hottest for war of any that hath been yet: and be confident, that in making peace I shall ever shew My constancy in adhering to Bishops, and all Our Friends, and not forget to put a short period to this perpetual Parliament. But as thou loves Me, let none perswade thee to slacken thine assistance for him who is eternally thine, *C. R.*

To my Wife 15 Febr. 1645. by P. A.

This is a true copy examined by *Edm. Prideaux*.

20.

To the Queen, March 9. 1645. Oxford.

DEAR Heart, now is come to passe what I foresaw, the fruitlesse end (as to a present peace) of this Treaty; but I am still confident, that I shall still finde very good effects of it: for besides that My Commissioners have offered, to say no more, full measured reason, and the Rebels have stucken rigidly to their demands, which I dare say had been too much, though they had taken Me prisoner, so that assuredly the breach will light foully upon them. We have likewise at this time discovered, and shall likewise make it evidently appear to the World, that the *English* Rebels, (whether baseiy or ignorantly, will be no very great difference) have as much as in them lyes, transmitted the command of *Ireland* from the *Crown* of *England* to the *Scots*, which (besides the reflection

reflection it will have upon these Rebels) will clearly shew, that reformation of the Church is not the chief, much lesse the only end of the *Scotch* Rebellion; but it being presumption, and no piety: so to trust to a good cause, as not to use all lawful means to maintain it, I have thought of one means more to furnish thee with for my assistance, then hitherto thou hast had: It is, that I give thee power to promise in my Name (to whom thou thinkest most fit) that I will take away all the penal laws against the Roman Catholicks in England as soon as God shall enable me to do it; so as by their means, or in their favours, I may have so powerful assistance as may deserve so great a favour, and enable me to do it. But if thou ask what I call that assistance, I answer, that when thou knowest what may be done for it, it will be easily seen, if it deserve to be so esteemed. I need not tell thee what secrecy this businesse requires; yet this I will say, that this is the greatest point of confidence I can expresse to thee; for it is no thank to Me to trust to thee in any thing else but in this which is the onely thing of difference in opinion betwixt Us: *And yet I know thou wilt make as good a bargain for Me, even in this.* I trusting thee, (though it concern Religion) as if thou wert a Protestant, the visible good of my affairs so much depending on it, I have so fully intrusted this bearer *Pooly*, that I will not say more to thee now, but that herewith I send thee a new cypher, assuring thee, that none hath or shall have any copy of it but my self, to the end thou mayest use it, when thou shalt finde fit to write any thing which thou wilt judge worthy of thy pains to put in cypher, and to be decyphered by none but Me; and so likewise from him to thee who is eternally thine.

To my Wife 5 March, 1645. by *Pooly*.

This is a true copy examined by *Edm. Prideaux*.

21.

*To the Queen, March 20. 1642. Oxford.**Dear Heart,*

V Pon Saturday last *I* wrote to thee by *Sabran* (but this *I* believe may come as soon to thee) and *I* have received thine of the seventh upon Monday last, which gave Me great contentment both in present and expectation, (the quick passage being likewise a welcome circumstance) and yet *I* cannot but finde a fault of omission in most of thy latter dispatches, there being nothing in them concerning thy health. For though *I* confesse, that in this no-news is good news, yet *I* am not so satisfied without a more perfect assurance; and *I* hope thou wilt by satisfying me confesse the justnesse of this my exception. *I* am now full fraught with expectation (*I* pray God send me a good unlading) for *I* look dayly for some blow of importance to be given about *Taunton* or *Shrewsbury*; and *I* am confidently assured of a considerable and sudden supply of men from *Ireland*, likewise the refractory Horse (as the *London* Rebels calls them) may be reckoned in, for yet it is not known what fomenters they have, or whether they have none, if the latter, there is the more hope of gaining them to me: howsoever *I* doubt not, but if they stand out (as it is probable) good use may be made of them. Of this *I* believe to give thee a perfecter account next week, having sent to try their pulses; *Petit* came yesterday, but he having at *London* thrust his Dispatches into the States Ambassadors Pacquets *I* have not yet received them, and *I* would not stay to lengthen this in answer of them, nor give thee half hopes of good Western news, knowing of an opportunity for writing to thee within these three or four dayes; onely *I* congratulate

late with thee for the safe arrival of thy Tin-adventure at *Callis* : and so farewell Sweet heart.

Thine of the tenth I have newly received, whereby I finde that thou much mistakes Me concerning *Ir.* for I desire nothing more then a peace there, and never forbad thy commerce there; onely I gave thee warning of some *Irish* in *France*, whom I then thought and now know to be Knaves.

To my Wife 20 March, 1644. by P.A.
This is a true copy, examined by *Edm. Prideaux*.

22.

To the Marquesse of Ormond, December 15.
1644. Oxford.

ORMOND, I am sorry to finde by Colonel Barry the sad condition of your particular fortune, for which I cannot finde so good and speedy remedy as the peace of *Ireland*, it being likewise to redresse most necessary affairs here; wherefore I command you to dispatch it out of hand, for the doing of which I hope my publick Dispatch will give you sufficient Instruction and power: yet I have thought it necessary for your more encouragement in this necessary work, to make this addition with My own hand. As for *Poinings Act* I refer you to my other Letter: and for matter of Religion, though I have not found it fit to take publick notice of the paper which *Brown* gave you, yet I must command you to give him my *L. Muskery* and *Plunket* particular thanks for it, assuring them that without it, there could have been no peace; and that sticking to it, their Nation in general and they in particular should have comfort in what they have done, and to shew that this is more then words.

words, I do hereby promise them, (and command you to see it done) that the penal Statutes against Roman Catholics shall not be put in execution, the peace being made, and they remaining in their due obedience; and further, that when the Irish gives Me that assistance which they have promised, for the suppression of this Rebellion, & I shall be restored to My rights, then I will consent to the repeal of them by a Law; but all those against Appeals to Rome, and Premunire must stand, all this in Cypher, you must impart to none, but those three already named, and that with injunction of strict secrecie: so again recommending to your care the speedy dispatch of the peace of Ireland, & my necessary supply from thence, as I wrote to you in my last private Letter, I rest.

A true Copy. Zouche Tate.

23.

To the Marquesse of Ormond, Jan. 7. 1644.
Oxford.

ORMOND, upon the great rumours and expectations which are now of peace, I think it necessary to tel you the true state of it, lest mistaken reports from hence might trouble My affairs there.

‘The Rebels here have agreed to Treat; and most assuredly, one of the first and chief Articles they will insist on, will be, to continue the Irish warre; which is a point not popular for Me to break on; of which you are to make a double use: First, to hasten (with all possible diligence) the peace there; the timely conclusion of which will take off that inconvenience which otherwayes I may be subject to, by the refusal of that Article, upon any other reason. Secondly, by dextrous conveying to the Irish, the danger there may be of their total and perpetual exclusion from those favours I intend them, in case the Rebels here clap up a peace with Me, upon reasonable

reasonable terms, and onely exclude them; which possibly were not counselable for me to refuse, if the Irish peace should be the onely difference betwixt Us, before it were perfected there: These I hope are sufficient grounds for you to perswade the Irish diligently to dispatch a peace upon reasonable terms, assuring them that you having once fully engaged to them my word (in the conclusion of a peace) all the earth shall not make me break it.

But not doubing of a peace, I must again remember you to presse the Irish for their speedy assistance to me here, and their friends in *Scotland*: My intention being to draw from thence into *Wales* (the peace once concluded) as many as I can of my armed Protestant Subjects, and desire that the Irish would send as great a body as they can to land about *Cumberland*, which will put those Northern Counties in a brave condition; wherefore you must take speedy order to provide all the shipping you may, as well *Dunkeirk* as Irish Bottoms; and remember that after March it will be most difficult to transport men from Ireland to England, the Rebels being masters of the Seas: So expecting a diligent and particular account in answer to this Letter, I rest

Your assured constant Friend,

C.R.

24. To the M. of Ormond, Febr. 16. 1644. Oxf.

ORMOND, I should wrong my own service, and this Gentleman Sir *Timothy Fetherston*, if I did not recommend him and his businesse to you; for the particulars of which I refer you to *Digby*: And now again I cannot but mention to you the necessity of the hastening of the Irish Peace, for which I hope you are already furnished by Me, with materials sufficient: But in case (against all expectation and reason) peace cannot be had upon those terms, you must not by any means fall to a new rupture with them, but continue the Cessation (according to a Posscript in a Letter by *Jack Barry* (a copy of which Dispatch I herewith send you.) So I rest.

Posscript.

POST-SCRIPT.

In case upon particular mens fancies, the Irish peace should not be procured, upon powers I have already given you, I have thought good to give you this further order (which I hope will prove needlesse) to seek to renew the cessation for a year, for which you shall promise the Irish (if you can have it no cheaper) to joyn with them against the Scots and *Inchiquin*; for I hope by that time my condition may be such, as the Irish may be glad to accept lesse, or I be able to grant more.

25.

To the Marquesse of Ormond, February 27.
1647.

Ormond,

THE impossibility of preserving my Protestant Subjects in *Ireland*, by a continuation of the war, having moved Me to give you those powers and directions; Which I have formerly done for the concluding of a peace there, and the same growing daily much more evident, that alone were reason enough for me, to enlarge your powers, and to make my commands in the point more positive. But besides these considerations, it being now manifest that the English Rebels have (as far as in them lyes) given the command of *Ireland* to the Scots; that their aim is at a total subversion of Religion and Regal power, and that nothing lesse will content them, or purchase peace

peace here. I think my Self bound in conscience not to let slip the means of settling that Kingdom (if it may be) fully under my obedience; nor to lose that assistance which I may hope from my Irish Subjects, for such scruples as in a lesse pressing condition might reasonably be stuck at by me: For their satisfaction I do therefore command you to conclude a peace with the Irish, whatever it cost, so that my Protestant Subjects there may be secured, and my Regal Authority preserved: But for all this you are to make me the best bargain you can, and not discover your enlargement of power till you needs must. And though I leave the managing of this great and necessary work entirely to you, yet I cannot but tell you, that if the suspension of *Penings* Act for such Bills as shall be agreed upon between you there, and the present taking away of the penal Laws against Papists, by a Law will do it: I shall not think it a hard bargain, so that freely and vigorously they engage themselves in my assistance against my Rebels of *England* and *Scotland*, for which no conditions can be too hard, nor being against Conscience or Honour.

Copy to Ormond, 27 Febr. 1644.

a true copy,
Zouche Tate.

To

26.

To the D. of R.

Richmond, I thank you for the account you sent me by this Bearer, and have nothing of new to direct you in, but onely to remember you that my going to *West.* is not to be mentioned but upon probable hopes of procuring a Treaty with Com. there or thereabouts, and that you mention the security I ask with My coming to *West.* And I hope I need not remember you to Cajole well the Independents and Scots; this Bearer will tell you how well Our Western and Northern Affociations goes on to whom I refer you for other things. I rest.

This a true copy,

Zouche Tate.

21.

*To the Lord Jermin, April 24. 1645.
Oxford.*

HARRY lest my Wife should not yet be fit for any businesse, I write this to you; not to excuse My

My pains but ease hers, and that she may know but not be troubled with my kindnesse, I refer to your discretion, how far to impart my Letter to her or any other businesse, that so her health in the first place be cared for, then my affairs: And now I must tell you that undoubtedly if you had not trusted to *Digbys* sanguine Complexion (not to be rebated from sending good news) you would not have found fault with him for sending mistaken intelligence, for if he should strictly tie himself to certain truths in this kind, you must have nothing from him but My Proclamations or Ordinances from the pretended Houses; but tell Me, can you not distinguish between what we send you upon certainty, and what upon uncertain reports, without making an Oath the mark of distinction: and are you obliged to publish all the news We send you? Seriously I think news may be sometimes too good to be told in the French Court: and certainly there is as much dexterity in publishing of news, as in matters which at first sight may seem of greater difficulty: for as I would not have them think that all assistance bestowed upon Me were in vain, so I would not have them believe that I needed no help, lest they should underhand assist any Rebels to keep the ballance of dissention amongst Us equals.

For matter of news and present state of My affairs I refer you to *Digby*, onely this in general, that if it shall please God to assist Us this year but half so miraculously as he did the last (My present state compared with what it was this time twelve moneth) I am very hopeful to see a joyful Harvest before next Winter: nor do I think this in any humane probability possible; except my Wife can procure Me considerable assistance both of men and money; of which I conceive little reason to despair, yours giving
Me

me good hope, concerning Lorrain, and though I say not, that, for the other, I have so good an Author as 196, yet I hope you will not much blame my confidence, when 149 in hers the 10 of March, sayes, Jay une Affaire, assures que vous donnere 40000 Pi- itols que Je vous cussi envoyé si J' cussi lu mon navier revenu avec l'estain.

In the last place I will impose that upon you, that is not reasonable to expect from my Wife, which is to give me a continual account, what Letters she receives from me, and what miscarries or comes slowly, to which end take notice, that all my Letters to her are numerarily marked on the top as this with 37, and likewise I now begin the same with you: so fare-well.

In your next let me know particularly how my Wife is, which though it be not as I would have it, yet the perfect knowledge, will hinder me to imagine her worse then she is, if well then every word will please me. I have commanded Digby to write to you freely concerning *Will Murry*, which I hold to be necessary as concerning Montrosse businesse.

To the L. *Jermin* 24 April, 1645. concerning France.

This is a true copy examined by *Miles Corbet*.

28.

*The Queen to the King, March 30. 1643
York*

MY dear heart, I need not tell you from whence this Bearer comes; onely I will tell you, that the Propositions which he brings you are good, but 260. I believe that it is not yet time to put them into execution: therefore finde some means to send them back, which may not discontent them, and do not tell who gave you this advice. Sir *Hugh Cholmley* is come with a Troop of Horse to kisse my hand: the rest of his people he left at Scarborough, with a ship laden with arms, which the ships of the Parliament had taken and brought thither, so she is Ours; the Rebels have quitted Tadcaster upon Our sending forces to Wetherby, but they are returned with twelve hundred men: We send more forces to drive them out, though those We have already at Wetherby are sufficient, but We fear lest they have all their forces there about, and lest they have some designe; for they have quitted Selby and Cawood, the last of which they have burnt: Between this and to morrow night We shall know the issue of this businesse; and I will send you an expresse: I am more careful to advertise you of what you do, that you and Wee may finde means to have passe-ports, to send: and I wonder, that upon the Cessation you have not demanded that you might send in safety: this shews my love: I understand to day from London, that they will have no Cessation, and that they treat at the beginning of the two first Articles, which is of the Forts, Ships, and Ammunition,

Ammunition, and afterwards of the disbanding of the Army : Certainly, I wish a peace more then any, and that with greater reason : But I would the disbanding of the perpetual Parliament, first : and certainly the rest will be easily afterwards. I do not say this of My own head alone : for generally both those who are for you and against you in this Countrey, wish an end of it : and I am certain, that if you do demand it at the first, in case it be not granted, *Hull* is Ours, and all *Yorkshire*, which is a thing to consider of : and for my parricular, if you make a peace and disband your Army, before there is an end to this perpetual Parliament, I am absolutely resolved to go into *France*, not being willing to fall again into the hands of those people, being well assured, that if the power remain with them, that it will not be well for me in *England* ; remember what I have written to you in three precedent Letters, and bee more carefull of me then you have been, or at the least disssemble it ; to the end that no notice be taken of it. Adieu : the man hastens me, so that I can say no more.

York, March 30.

29.

*The Queen to the King, June 27. 1643.**Newark.*

MY Dear Heart, I received just now your Letter by my Lord *Savile*, who found Me ready to go away, staying but for one thing, for which you will well pardon two dayes stop, it is to have *Hull* and *Lincoln*, young *Hotham* having been put in prison by order of Parliament, is escaped: and hath sent to 260 that he would cast himself into his arms, and that *Hull* and *Lincoln* should be rendred, he is gone to his Father, and 260 writes for your answer, so that I think I shall go hence Friday or Saturday, and shall go lye at *Werton*, and from thence to *Ashby*, where we will resolve what way to take, and I will stay there a day, because that the march of the day before, will have been somewhat great, and also to know how the Enemy marches: all their forces of *Nottingham* at present being gone to *Leicester*, and *Darby*, which makes Us believe, that it is to intercept our passage, as soon as we have resolved, I will send you word: at this present I think it fit to let you know the state in which we march, and what I leave behinde me for the safety of *Lincolnshire* and *Nottinghamshire*: I leave 2000 Foot, and wherewithall to arm 500 more, 20 companies of Horse, all this to be under *Charles Cavendish*, whom the Gentlemen of the Countrey have desired me not to carry with me, against his will, for he desired extreemly not to go. The enemies have left with in *Nottingham* 1000. I carry with me 3000 Foot, 30 Companies of Horse and Dragoons, 6 peeces of Cannon, and 2 Morters, *Harry Germyn* commands the forces which go with me, as Colonel of my Guard, and *Sir Alex. Lesley* the Foot under him, & *Gerard* the Horse, and *Robin Legge* the Artillery, and her she-Majesty Generalissima, and extreemly diligent with 150 Wagons of Baggage to govern, in case of batrel,

M

have

have a care that no Troop of *Essex* his Army incommodate Us, for I hope that for the rest We shall be strong enough, for at *Nottingham* We have had the experience, 1 of Our Troops having beaten 6 of theirs, and made them flye. I have received your Proclamation or Declaration, which I wish had not been made, being extreemly disadvantageous for you, for you shew too much fear, and do not what you had resolved upon. Farewel my dear heart.

The Queen to the King, 27 *June*, 1643.

30.

The Queen to the King, April 3. 1644.

THis Letter should have gone by a man of *Master Denesdale*, who is gone, and all the beginning of this Letter was upon this subject: and therefore by this man it signifies nothing but the end was so pleasing, that I do not forbear to send it to you. You now know by *Elliot* the issue of the businesse of *Todcaster*, since we had almost lost *Scarborough*, whilest *Cholmly* was here, *Brown Bushel* would have rendred it up to the Parliament: but *Cholmley* having had notice of it, is gone with our Forces, and hath re-taken it; and hath desired to have a Lieutenant and Forces of ours to put within it; for which we should take him; he hath also taken two Pinaces from *Hotham*, which brought 44 men to put within *Scarborough*, 10 peecees of Canon, 4 barrells of powder, 4 of bullet. This is all our news: Our Army marches to morrow to put an end to *Fairfax's* Excellency. And I will make an end of this Letter, this third of April. I have had no news of you since *Parsons*.

A true copy.

P. W.

31:

*The Queen to the King, April 21. 1644.
Bathe.*

MY dear heart, *Fred. Cornwallis* will have told you all our voyage as far as *Adbury*, and the state of my health: since my coming hither, I finde my self ill, as well in the ill rest that I have, as in the increase of my Rhume.

I hope that this dayes rest will do me good: I go to morrow to *Bristol*, to send you back the Carres; many of them are already returned: My Lord *Dillon* told me, not directly from you, though he sayes you approve it; that it was fit I should write a Letter to the Commissioners of *Ireland* to this effect, That they ought to desist from those things for the present, which they had put in their paper, and to assure them that when you shall be in another condition then you are now, that you will give them contentment.

I thought fit to be a matter of so great engagement, that I dare not do it without your commands; therefore if it please you that I should do so, send me what you would have me write, that I may not do more then what you appoint: And also that it being your command, you may hold to that which I promise: for I should be very much grieved to write any thing which I would not hold to, and when you have promised it me, I will be confident. I believe also, that to write to my Lord *Muskery* without the rest will be enough; for the Letter which I shall write to him shall be with my own hand: and if it be to all your Commissioners, it shall be by the Secretary. Farewel my dear heart, I cannot write any more, but that I am absolutely Yours.

A true copy.

Zouche Tata

32.

The Queen to the King, Dec. 6. 1644. Paris.

Paris, January, I have received one of your Letters, dated from *Marleborow* of an old date, having received many others more fresh, to which I have made answer: I will say nothing concerning this but only concerning the affair of (*Gor.*) If it be not done, it is time, being very seasonable at this time, which I did not believe before. I understand that the Commissioners are arrived at *London*; I have nothing to say, but that you have a care of your Honour; and that if you have a peace, it may be such as may hold; and if it fall out otherwise, that you do not abandon those who have served you, for fear they do forsake you in your need. Also I do not see how you can be in safety without a Regiment of Guard; for my self I think I cannot be, seeing the malice which they have against me, and my Religion, of which I hope you will have a care of both: but in my opinion Religion should be the last thing upon which you should treat; For if you do agree upon strictness against the *Catholicks*, it would discourage them to serve you: and if afterwards there should be no peace, you could never expect succours either from *Ireland*, or any other *Catholick Prince*, for they would believe you would abandon them after you have served your self. I have dispatched an expresse into *Scotland*, to *Montrose*, to know the condition he is in, and what there is to be done. This week I send to Mr. of *Lorrain*, and into *Holl.* I lose no time: if I had more of your news all would go better. Adieu my Dear Heart.

A true copy.

Zouche Tate.

33.

The Queen to the King, Jan. 27. 1644. Paris.

Paris January 27; My Dear Heart, *Tom Elliot* two dayes since hath brought me much joy, and for-
 ROW:

row : the first, to know the good estate in which you are : the other, the fear I have that you go to *London*. I cannot conceive where the wit was of those who gave you this counsel, unlesse it be to hazard your person to save theirs : but thanks be to God, to day I received one of yours by the Ambassadour of *Portugal* dated in January, which comforted me much to see that the Treaty shall be at *Uxbridge* : For the honour of God trust not your self in the hands of these people. And if you ever go to *London* before the Parliament be ended, or without a good Army, you are lost. I understand that the propositions for the peace must begin by disbanding the Army ; if you consent to this, you shall be lost, they having the whole power of the *Militia*, they have done and will do whatsoever they will. I received yesterday Letters from the Duke of *Lorrain*, who sends me word, if his service be agreeable to you, he will bring you ten thousand men : Dr. *Goffe* whom I have sent into *Holland* shall treat with him in his passage upon this businesse ; and I hope very speedily to send you good news of this, as also of the money. Assure your self I will be wanting in nothing you shall desire ; and that I will hazard my life, that is, to dye by *Famine*, rather then not to send to you. Send me word alwayes by whom you receive my Letters, for I write both by the Ambassadour of *Portugal* and the Resident of *France*. Above all, have a care not to abandon those who have served you, as well the Bishops as the poor Catholics. Adieu. You will pardon me if I make use of another to write, not being able to do it ; yet my self in cyphers shew to my Nephew *Rupert*, that I intreat you to impart all that I write to you, to the end that he may know the reason why I write not to him ; I know not how to send great packers.

My Wife, 27 January 1645.

A true copy, *Zouche Tate*.

34.

*The Queen to the King, March 13. 1644.
Paris.*

Paris this 13 of March. My Dear Heart, since my last, I have received one of your Letters marked 16. by which you signifie the receipt of my Letters by Pooly, which hath a little surprized me, seeming to me that you write as if I had in my Letter something which had displeased you: If that hath been, I am very innocent in my intention. I onely did believe that it was necessary you should know all. There is one other thing in your Letter which troubles me much, where you would have me keep to my self your Dispatches, as if you believe that I should be capable to shewthem to any, which is onely to L. Jer. to uncypher them, my head not suffering me to do it my self: but if it please you I will do it, and none in the World shall see them: be kinde to me, or you kill me: I have already affliction enough to bear, which without you I could not do, but your service surmounts all: farewell my Dear Heart: behold the mark which you desire to have to know when I desire any thing in earnest +; and I pray begin to remember what I spake to you concerning Jack Barkly for Master of the Wards; I am not ingaged nor will not be for the places of L. Per. and others, do you accordingly.

13 March 1644.

To

Oxford. Feb. 1644.

35.

Memorials for Secretary Nicholas concerning the Treaty at Uxbridge.

First for Religion and Church-government I will not go one jot further then what is offered by you already.

2 And so for the *Militia* more then what ye have allowed by Me, but even in that you must observe that I must have free nomination of the full half; as if the total number Scots and all be thirty, I will name fifteen; yet if they (I mean the English Rebels) will be so base as to admit of ten Scots to twenty English, I am contented to name five Scots and ten English, and so proportionably to any number that shall be agreed upon.

3. As for gaining of particular persons besides security, I give you power to promise them rewards for performed services, not sparing to engage for places; so they be not of great trust, or be taken away from honest men in possession, but of as much profit as you will: with this last you are onely to acquaint *Richmond, Southampton, Culpeper, and Hide.*

This is a true copy.

Zouche Tate.

M 4

Directions

31.

*Directions for the Uxbridge Commissioners.**First concerning Religion.*

IN this the government of the Church (as I suppose) will be the chief question, wherein two things are to be considered, Conscience and Policy. For the first, I must declare unto you, that I cannot yeeld to the change of the government by Bishops; not only as I fully concur with the most general opinion of Christians in all Ages, as being the best, but likewise I hold my self particularly bound by the Oath I took at My Coronation, not to alter the government of this Church from what I found it. And as for the Churches patrimony, I cannot suffer any diminution or alienation of it, it being without peradventure Sacriledge, and likewise contrary to My Coronation Oath, but whatsoever shall be offered, for rectifying of abuses, if any hath crept in, or yet for the ease of tender consciences (so that it endamage not the foundation) I am content to hear, and will be ready to give a gracious answer thereunto. For the second, as the Kings duty is to protect the Church, so it is the Churches to assist the King, in the maintenance of his just authority; wherefore My Predecessours have been alwayes careful (and especially since the Reformation) to keep the dependency of the Clergy intirely upon the Crown; without which it will scarcely fit fast upon the Kings head; therefore you must do nothing to change or lessen this necessary dependency.

Next concerning the Militia.

After Conscience, this is certainly the fittest Subject for a Kings Quarrel; for without it the Kingly power is but a shadow; and therefore upon no means

to be quitted, but to be maintained according to the ancient known Laws of the Land : (yet because to attain to this so much wished peace by all good men) it is in a manner necessary, that sufficient and real security be given for the performance of what shall be agreed upon. I permit you, either by leaving strong Towns or other Military force into the Rebels possession (until Articles be performed) to give such assurance for performance of conditions as you shall judge necessary for to conclude a peace : provided alwayes, that ye take (at least) as great care by sufficient security, that conditions be performed to Me : *And to make sure that the peace once settled, all things shall return into their ancient Chanel.*

Thirdly for Ireland.

I confesse, they have very specious popular Arguments to presse this point, the gaining of no Article more concluding to their ends then this : And I have as much reason both in honour and policy to take care how to answer this as any : all the World knows the eminent inevitable necessity which caused Me to make the Irish Cessation, and there remain yet as strong reasons for the concluding of that peace ; wherefore ye must consent to nothing to hinder Me therein, until a clear way be shown Me, how My Protestant Subjects there may probably (at least) defend themselves ; and that I shall have no more need to defend My Conscience and Crown from the injuries of this Rebellion.

A true copy.

Zouche Tate.

M 5

At

At *Uxbridge* on Wednesday the 29 of January, 1644. the Protestation underwritten was unanimously consented unto, and taken by all his Majesties Commissioners appointed to treat there, touching a well-grounded peace.

I A.B. being one of the Commissioners assigned by his Majesty for this present Treaty at *Uxbridge*, do protest and promise in the sight of Almighty God, that I will not disclose nor reveal unto any person or persons whatsoever (who is not a Commissioner) any matter or thing that shall be spoken of during the Treaty by any one, or more of his Majesties Commissioners in any private debate amongst our selves, concerning the said Treaty; so as to name or describe directly or indirectly the person or persons that shall speak any such matter or thing, unlesse it be by the consent of all the said Commissioners that shall be then living.

Memorandum, That it is by all the said Commissioners agreed, that this shall not binde, where any ten of the Commissioners shall agree to certifie his Majesty the number of Assenters or Dissenters, upon any particular result, in this Treaty, not naming or describing the persons.

This is a true copy examined by *Zouche Tate*.

Instructions

37.

Instructions for Colonel Cockram, to be pursued in his negotiations to the King of Denmark.

YOU are to inform the King of Denmark, that by his Majesties command, as to the nearest ally of his Crown, his Uncle, and who he believes will not be unconcerned in his affairs, as well in interests as affection, you are sent to give a particular account of the state of his Majesties affairs, to renew the ancient League and Amity that hath been between the two Kingdoms, and Families Royal; and to reduce it to more exact particulars, such as might be useful to the present affairs of England, and all occurrences in the future of those of Denmark.

That the present affair of your negotiation, is to demand an assistance from his Majesty, such an one as the present state of the affairs of England requires, against a dangerous combination of his Majesties subjects, who have not onely invaded his Majesty in his particular rights, but have laid a design to dissolve the Monarchy and frame of Government, under pretences of Liberty and Religion, becoming a dangerous precedent to all the Monarches of Christendom to be looked upon with successe in their designe.

That the nature of their proceedings hath been such as hath not admitted any forraign treaty to be interessed in suppressing their designe, without giving them advantage of scandalling his Majesties intentions, and drawing away universally the hearts of his people, whom they had insinuated under pretence of Reformation of particular abuses of Government, and Ministers of Estate, to concur generally with approbation of their proceedings, and in which (though the

the dangerous consequence and designe were visible to his Majesty) a present compliance was necessary, lest any publick opposition on his Majesties part, that might seem to defeat the great expectations which they had raised in the Commons in those plausible particulars might have occasioned a general revolt, throughout the Kingdoms, great jealousies being dispersed and fomented amongst them of his Majesties Forraign Treaties and Force, to be used to oppose & suppress those their desires & the movers therein.

Upon the credit they had herewith built on the peoples opinions, they proceeded under pretence of Reformation of Religion to dissolve the Government of the Church, according to its constitution in *England*, a chief column and support to that Monarchy and Crown.

They lastly invaded his Majesty in all the prerogatives of His Crown, and under pretence of ill Ministers and Councillours of Estate, whom they pretended to remove, endeavoured to invest in themselves in all times for the future the nomination of all Ministers of Estate, and of his Majesties Family; withdrew all His Revenues into their own hands, and to confirm themselves in an absolute power of disposing His estate, entred upon possessing themselves of the Militia of the Kingdom, his Navy and Magazines, in which his Majesty being forced to appear in opposition, dangerous tumults were raised against Him, so that He was forced to forsake *London*; for preservation of His person, His Queen, and Children.

That since, for the safety of the Queen He hath been forced to send her into *Holland*, to retire Himself to the best affected party of His Subjects, from whence by Declarations setting forth the sinister proceedings of that Faction, discovering their designs of innovating the government, and falsifying the scandals they had imputed to Him, He hath had the advantage generally to undeceive his people, to draw to
Him.

Him universally the Nobility and Gentry of the Kingdom. But the other Faction still keeping up some interest and credit with the Commons, in the desperate estate they finde themselves, begin to make head against Him, have appointed a General, and are leavying Forces to maintain their party, committing divers acts of hostility, violence, and rebellion.

That his Majesty having great encouragements given Him by the exceeding numbers of Gentry and Noblemen that resort to Him, is already advanced near them with 6000 Horse, and 10000 Foot.

That the States of *Holland* have condescended to give her Majesty, the Q. a convoy of the greatest part of their Fleet now at Sea, for her return into *England*.

That divers Forts and Counties upon his Majesties personal appearance, have declared for Him, so that His affairs at home grow daily into a better estate, as he likewise expects and hopes, that all His Neighbour Princes and Allies, will not look upon so dangerous a president to their own Crowns and Monarchies, without contributing to suppress this so pernicious a designe, begun within His Kingdom.

That to give his Majesty the juster ground to reflect upon the dangerous consequences, in relation to His own interest, of their successe. It hath been by them publickly moved in the Commons House long since, to interpose in the accomodation of the *Dutch*, and to set out a Fleet, to take away His Customs of the *Sound*.

That they have since imputed to his Majesty as a ground to scandal Him with His people, that He did negotiate, the introducing by his Uncle the King of *Danmark*, a forraign power, to settle His affairs; & under that pretext have given large Commission, and particular instructions to the Fleet, to visit, search, and intercept all such *Danish* ships at they should meet, & to fight with, sink or destroy, al such as should resist them, not permitting the same, or to take & detain them, having any arms or ammunition on board; according to
w^{ch} they

they have searched, visited, and detained divers, to the great prejudice and interruption of the Norway trade driven commonly in this Kingdom, in their own bottoms: And that they did prepare force against others, whom they permitted not to water, nor any other accommodation being bound for the *West-Indies*, and put in by stresse of weather in the *West of England*.

That in pursuance of their great design of extirpating the Royal blood, and Monarchy of *England*, they have endeavoured likewise to lay a great blemish upon his Royal Family, endeavouring to illegitimize all derived from his Sister, at once to cut off the interest and pretensions of the whole Race, which their most detestable and scandalous designe they have pursued, examining witnesses, and conferring circumstances, and times to colour their pretensions in so great a fault: and which as his sacred Majesty of England in the true sence of honour of his Mother, doth abhor, and will punish, so he expects his concurrence, in vindicating a Sister of so happy memory, and by whom so near an union, and continued League of amity, hath been produced between the Families and Kingdoms.

That the particulars in which his Majesty doth desire his assistance, are, in the loan, and raising of Men, Money, Arms, and Ships, all or such of them as may consist best with the convenience of his own affairs: And of such in the first place as may be most requisite and are wanting to his Majesty.

That to set his levies on foot, and put him in a posture to protect his Subjects in all places that adhere to him, and receive their contribution; 100000 li: will be necessary for him, which his Majesty desires by way of loan. And for the restitution of it, besides his Kingly word, and solemn engagement upon this treaty, he is contented of such his Crown Jewels as are in his dispose, to leave his Royal pledge, if it shall be desired. The

The particulars of arms that he desires, are 6000 Musquets, 1500 Horse-arms, & 20 pieces of Artillery mounted.

Assistance of men, he desires onely in Horsemen, and to know in what time they may be ready, and how many.

That the Holy Island, or New-castle are designed for the landing of the said Horse, and Magazin of the said provisions, for reception likewise, and protection of such his ships as he shall think fit to imploy for the countenance and security of those his Subjects that shall trade upon these Coasts: and for ascertaining the correspondence and intelligence between the two Kingdoms; in which the number is left to be proportioned as may best sort and agree with his own affairs. And for which the Holy Island is conceived one of the aptest Harbours in his Majesties Dominions, being capable of any ships whatsoever, in a very great proportion, an excellent road at the entrance, a ready out-let, and a strong Fort under his Majesties command.

That in lieu of this assistance contributed by the King of *Denmark*, his Majesty will oblige himself, and ratifie in expresse Articles to restore into the Magazines of *Denmark*, a like proportion of arms and ammunition, to repay and defray the charges of the money lent, and levies of Horse, and so soon as his affairs shall be set led, and himself in a condition to do it, upon all occasions to contribute the assistance of his Fleet, in maintaining his Right and Title to the Customes of the Sound, against all persons whatsoever; and to ratifie the Treaty that was made last by Sir *Thomas Roe*, to enter into a League offensive and defensive, against intestine rebellions. In pursuance of which Treaty, while the negotiations and Articles may be severally perfected, his Majesty doth expect this first supply of monies, and armes, present affairs not admitting a delay in the same.

That

That in case the King of *Denmark* will lend money upon jewels, there is in *Holland* a great Collar of Rubies, and another of Rubies and Pearl, that may be sent to him, or delivered to his Agent here: Who may have order to pay the money here: or any other Jewels.

That there have been in discourses, several Propositions of Accommodation made by them to the King, to which the King hath at all times made more advances on His part, then in reason could have been expected from Him, and the difficulties have still risen on theirs.

And that whereas his Majesty doth understand, that a person is addressed to the King of *Denmark* from His Parliament, to insinuate misunderstandings abroad with his Majesties Allies, as they have done at home among his people, his Majesty expects that he be neither received, nor permitted to remain within his Dominions, to become an Intelligencer and Spy upon the Treaty and Negotiations betweene their Majesties, but that he be dismissed and sent away so soon as ever he shall arrive.

Note this paper concerning *Cockram* was not intercepted amongst the Kings Letters, but is otherwise attested,



His



H's MAJESTIES
ANSWER to a Pamphlet,
Intituled,

*A Declaration of the Commons of England in
Parliament assembled, expressing their Rea-
sons and Grounds of passing the late Reso-
lutions touching no farther Adresse
or Application to be made to
the KING.*

Published by His MAJESTIES appointment.

I Believe that it was never heard of until now, that
heavy imputations were laid on any Man (I speak
not, now, of KINGS, which I confesse makes the case,
yet, more strange and unjust) and He not permitted
to see, much lesse to answer them: but so it is now
with the KING: which does (though silently) yet
subject Him to as great an Imputation, as there is any
in the said Declaration; for those who know no bet-
ter, may think that He cannot, because He does not,
Answer it: Wherefore I hold it my duty (knowing
these things better then every ordinary Man) to do
my best, that the KING should not be injured, by
the ignorance of His people: and albeit, I (lying
under persecution, for my Conscience, and Love to
Regal Authority) have not the means, in every thing,
to make full Probations; yet, I am confident, in all
the most material points, for to make the truth, of the
KINGS innocency, appear; that I shall satisfie any
impartial judicious Reader.

42. 1. 7. 18

What

What the issue of former Addresses to the KING hath been, is most certainly known to all the World; but, where the Fault rests, whereby peace hath not ensued, bare Asseverations, without proofs, cannot, I am sure, satisfy any Judicious Reader. And indeed, it seems to me, that the Penner of this, seeks more to take the ears of the ignorant Multitude, with big words, and bold Assertions, then to satisfy rational Men with real proofs or true arguments. For, at the very first he begs the Question; taking it for granted, that the KING could ease the *sighs* and *groans*, dry the *tears*, and stanch the *blood* of his distressed Subjects: Alas! is it he that keeps Armies on Foot, when there is none to oppose? Is it He, that will not lay down Excise, Taxations, and Free-Quarterings? But, it is He indeed, who was so far from power, even at that time, (being far worse since) that, in most things, He wanted the liberty of any free-born man: It is He, who never refused to ease his people of their Grievances; witnesse more Acts of Grace passed in His Reign, then (to speak within my compasse) in any five Kings or Queens times) that ever were before Him: Moreover, It is He, who, to settle the present unhappy distractions, and (as the best means to it) to obtain a personal Treaty, hath offered so much; that (to say truth) during His own time, He hath left Himself little more then the title of a KING; as it plainly appears by His Message from the Isle of *Wight*, concerning the *Militia*, and choosing the Officers of State, and Privy Councillours; besides other points of compliance, which it is needles here to mention.

Good God! are these Offers unfit for them to receive? Have they tendered such propositions, that might occasion the World to judge that they have yeelded up, not onely their wills and affections, but their reasons also, and judgments, for obtaining a true peace or good accommodation? It is true, that if they can shew, what, reasonably they could have asked more; or, wherein the KINGS offers were

were deficient (either in point of security, or, by withholding, from any of His Subjects, a jot of their just Priviledges) then, they said somewhat, to challenge belief: But, bare Asseverations, even against what a Man sees, will not get credit with any, but such who abandon their judgements to an implicit Faith: Nor can the determinations of all the Parliaments in the World, make a thing just or necessary, if it be not so of it self: And can it be imagined, that any, who were ever acquainted with the passages at the Treaties, of *Oxford* and *Uxbridge*, will believe (though it be said) that *the propositions tendred at Newcastle, were the same in effect, which had been presented to the King before, in the midst of all His Strength and Forces?* Indeed me thinks such grosse slips as these, should at least, make a Man be wary, how to believe such things, for which he sees no proofs: And yet it should seem, that a Man must either take their words, for good payment, or remain unsatisfied; for a little after it is said, That *the Kings strange, unexpected, and conditional Answers or Denials might justly have made them consider some other course for settling the Kingdom in peace and safety, without any further Application;* but never shew, wherein the strangeness of His Answers or Denials consists: And I should think, that those Reasons, upon which the laying by of a *KINGS* authority is grounded (for it is no lesse) ought to be particularly mentioned, for the Worlds satisfaction, and not involved in general big words: for it thereby seems, that it is their force of Arms, more then that of Reason, which they trust to, for procuring of Obedience to their Determinations, or Belief to what they say: Otherwayes, can it be imagined, that their saying, That *their last propositions were to be qualified, that (where it might stand with the publick safety) the wonted Scruples or Objections were prevented or removed,* can give satisfaction to any rational Man, who hath seen all their former propositions? For, it is most evident

dent, that their Demands have alwayes encreased with their good Fortune.

And for their great Condescention to a *Personal Treaty* (which, under favour, can scarcely be called so; for the KING, though He had granted what was desired, was not to come, neither to nor near *London*, but to stay in the *Isle of Wight*, and there to treat with Commissioners) upon signing the four Bills; Surely, they incurred therein, but little danger; for it is most evident, that they contain the very substance of the most essential parts of their demands; which being once granted, the KING would neither have had power to deny, nor any thing left worth the refusing; for after He had confessed, that He had taken up Armes, to invade the Liberty of His people, (whereas it was onely for the Defence of His own Rights) and had likewise Condemned all those, who had faithfully served Him, of Rebellion; and that He had totally devested Himself, His Heirs, and Successours for ever, of the power of the Sword; whereby the protection of His Subjects (which is one of the most essential and necessary Rights belonging to Regal Authority) is totally torn away from the Crown: and that by a silent Confession, He had done Himself and Successours, an irreparable prejudice concerning the Great Seal (*I speak not of the other two Bills, neither of which are of little importance*) what was there more for Him to grant (worth the insisting upon) after such Concessions? or, indeed, what power was left Him to deny any thing? So that the KINGS necessity of giving the Answer He did (for it was no absolute refusal) is most evident; unlesse, Hee had resolved to have lived in quiet, without Honour; and to have given His people peace, without safety; by abandoning them to an Arbitrary and unlimited power of the two Houses, for ever, concerning the Levying of Land or Sea Forces, without stinting of Numbers, or distinction
of

of persons; and for payments, to leavy such sums of monies in such sort, and by such wayes and means, as they shall think fit and appoint. And now I cannot but ask; Is this the *Militia* that the KING contends for? or, did ever any KING of *England* pretend to, or seek for such a power? surely no: But, this is a new *Militia*, and take heed, lest this should prove like the Roman *Prætorian Cohorts*, that what they did in choosing and changing Emperours, these do not to this Government; by moulding and altering it according to their fancies. Now, my eagerness to clear this point concerning the four Bills, had almost made me forget, a most material Question: I wonder much wherein the danger consists of a personal Treaty with the KING, ever since He was last at *Newcastle*? Surely He cannot bring Forces along with Him, to awe His two Houses of Parliament: and it is well known that He hath not money to raise an Army: And truly, there is as little fear, that the eloquence of His Tongue should work Miracles; but on the contrary, if Hee were so ill a Man, as you describe Him to be, whatsoever He shall say or write, must more prejudice Him then you: for let Him never flatter Himself, it must be clear, not doubtfull, Reason, that can prevail against that great visible prevailing power, which now opposes Him: nor do I say, it will; but certainly lesse can do it: Where is then, the *Danger*? Believe it, Reason will hardly maintain those who are afraid of her.

After this, it is said, That they had cause enough to remember, that the KING sometimes denied to receive their humble Petitions: but, they never tell, where, nor when, which, I am most confident, they cannot: but I am certain, that the KING hath sent divers Messages of peace to them, unto which, He hath yet, had no answer; namely, His last from *Oxford* of the 15 of *January* 1645. and all the rest since.

As

As for the fight at *Brainceford*, whosoever will read the Collection of the Declarations in print, upon that subject, will clearly finde, that the KING hath more reason to complain, that they under colour of Treaty, fought to environ Him with their Forces; then they, for what He then did; and His Retreat was neither for Fear, nor with Shame; for the appearing of the Enemy made Him retard, not hasten His Orders for retiring, which divers hours (before their appearing) He had given: which He did without any losse at all, but (on the contrary) retreated with more Armes, eleven Colours, and fifteen peeces of Ordnance (beside good store of ammunition) then He had before: and for Cruelty; there was not a drop of blood shed, but in the heat of the fight, for I saw above five hundred prisoners, who (onely promised, *never after to bear arms against the KING*) were freely released.

Again, they seem to have good Memories, saying, *That the King once sent them a specious Message of renewing a Treaty, when at the same time, His Messenger was instructed how to manage that bloody Massacre in London, which was then design'd by vertue of the KINGS Commission, since published.* And hath the King sent but one Message, for the renewing of a Treaty? Then what was thas from *Tavestock* in August 1644. and five others from *Oxford* the next year? But indeed this, that is here mentioned, they knew not how to answer (for at that time, they knew not the way of silence) but by this forged accusation against the Messenger; who, I dare say, knew nothing of that, which might have been (at that time) intended for the KINGS service, by some who had more zeal then judgement: But, that there was a *Massacre* intended, or, that any *Commission* from the KING, should countenance such a Designe, is a most notorious slander. As for the KINGS mentioned Letter to the QUEEN; I am confident that any judicious Reader, will finde the Glosse made upon it, very much wrested: And certainly,

certainly, after Ages will think these Times very Barbarous, wherein private Letters betwixt Man and Wife are published to open view: And in other Countries, there is such respect carried to private Letters of Princes, that (to my knowledge) the last Emperour in the greatest heat of the *Bohemian War*, having intercepted a Packet, wherein were private Letters to King *James* of blessed memory (who was then known, no great Friend to the Emperour) from His onely Daughter, then, avowedly the Emperours greatest Enemy; yet He sent them to the KING, without the least offer of violence to the Seals.

And now I come to their Determination upon the whole Matter, what course they have resolved to take with the KING? their words are, *But notwithstanding this and other former Tenders, We have now receivd such a Denyal, that We are in despair of any good by Addresses to the King; neither must We be so injurious to the people in further delaying their settlement, as any more to presse His consent to these, or any other propositions: Besides, it is resolved upon the Question, That they will receive no more any Message from the King; and do enjoyn, That no persons presume to receive or bring any Message from the King to both or either Houses of Parliament, or to any other person.* Thus you see, that the KING is laid by; But that is not all; for, He must, neither justify His innocency against Calumny, nor is there any way left Him to mend any Errour, that He may have committed: Is this a just way of proceeding? when Truth, though offered, must not be heard; and that no way must be left to recant an Errour? And why all this severity? Because (as I have already shown you) the KING will not injure His Conscience or Honour, nor suffer His people to be oppressed; to which they give the term of such a *Denyal*, though really it was none. But since they thus seek to hoodwink the people, it is no great wonder, that they forbid the KING to repent Him of those faults, which He never committed:
and

and I believe all indifferent Men, will easily judge of the **KINGS** innocency, even by their way of accusation: For those who will lay such high crimes to His charge, as the *breach of Oathes, Vows, Protestations, and Imprecations*, would not spare to bring their proofs if they had any: But on the contrary, it is known to all the World, that He had not suffered as He has done, if He would have dispensed with that part of His *Coronation Oath*, which He made to the Clergy; which is no great signe that He makes flight of His engagements: of which it is so universally known, that He has been so religiously careful, as I hold it a wrong to His Innocency, to seek to cleer Him of such slanders, for which there are no proofs alledged: for, Malice being once detected, is best answered, with Neglect and Silence. And was there ever greater, or more apparent Malice, then to offer to put the horrid slander of *Paricide* upon Him, who was eminently known to be as obedient and loving a Son to His blessed Father, as any History can make mention of? But indeed the losse of *Rochel* doth fitly follow; to shew, how Malice when it is at the height, is ordinarily accompanied; for there are none but ignorant or forgetful Men, who know not that it was meerly the want of assistance, from the two Houses of Parliament (contrary to their publick general Engagement) that lost *Rochel*: and there is nothing more clear (to any who hath known French Occurrences) then, that real assistance, which the **KING**, to the uttermost of His power, gave to those of the Religion, at that time, made the Cardinal of *Richelieu* an irreconcilable enemy to the **KING**; wherefore I canuot but say, that it is a strange forgetful boldness to charge the **KING** with that which was evidently other mens faults.

There are also other things, that, to any knowing Man, will rather seem Jeers, then Accusations; as the *German Horse, and Spanish Fleet in the year 1639*. But
my

my affection shall not so blind me, as to say, that the KING never erred; yet, as when a just Debt is paid, Bonds ought to be cancelled: so Grievances be they never so just, being once redressed, ought no more to be objected as Errours. And it is no Paradox, to affirm; that Truths, this way told, are no better then Slanders; and such are the Catalogue of Grievances here enumerated; which, when they are well examined, every one of them, will not be found such as here they are described to be.

Now as concerning those Discourses which mention the beginnings of these troubles, (which are in two several places of this Declaration) I will onely say this; that what the KING did upon those occasions, was meerly to defend the Rights of His Crown, which were and are evidently sought to be torn from Him; nor can I acknowledge all those Relations to be true, such as *private Levies of Men, by popish Agents, Arming of Papists in the North, Calling in of Danish Forces*, and the like: And as for the stale Slander of *calling up the Northern Army*, now renewed; it is well known, that the two Houses (even at that time) were not so partial to the KING, as to have concealed a practise of that Kinde, if they could have got it sufficiently proved.

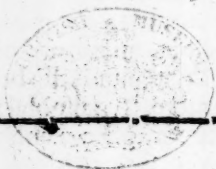
But, if the *Irish Rebellion* can be justly charged upon the KING, then I shal not blame any for believing all the rest of the Allegations against Him; onely I protest against all Rebels Testimony, as good proof; it being most certain by experience; that they, who make no conscience of Rebelling, will make lesse of Lying, when it is for their advantage. And, it is no little wonder, that so grave an Assembly as the House of *Commons*, should so slightly examine a businesse of that great weight, as to alleage, that the *Scots Great Seal* did countenance the *Irish Rebellion*, when I know it can be proved, by Witnesses without exception, that, for many moneths before, until the now

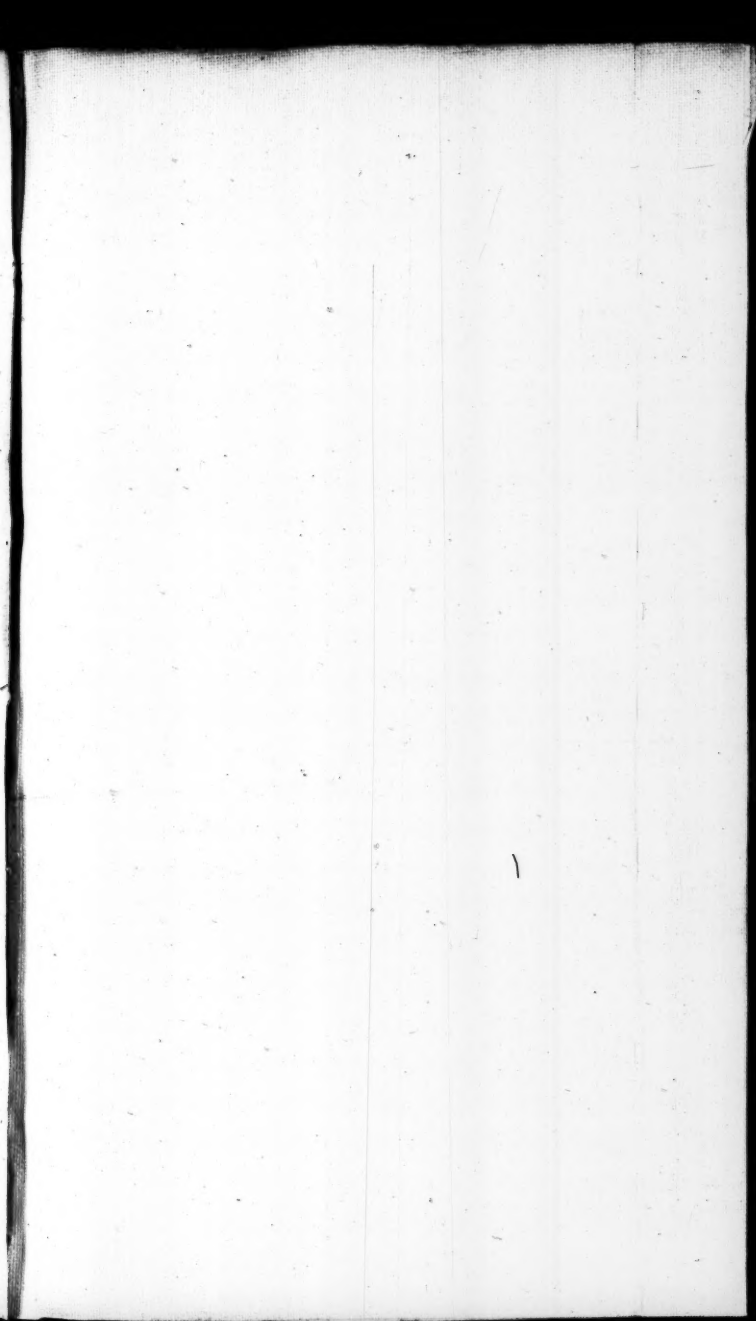
Lord Chancellour had the keeping of it, there was nothing at all sealed by it : Nor concerning this great point will I onely say, that the King is innocent, and bid them prove (which, to most accusations, is a sufficient answer,) but I can prove that if the KING had been obeyed in the Irish affairs before He went last into *Scotland*, there had been no *Irish Rebellion*; and after it was begun, it had, in few moneths, been suppressed, if His Directions had been observed; For if the KING had been suffered to have performed His Engagements to the *Irish Agents*; and had disposed of the discontented *Irish Army*, beyond Sea (according to His contracts with the *French* and *Spanish* Ambassadors) there is nothing more clear, then that there could have been no Rebellion in *Ireland*; because, they had wanted both pretence and means, to have made one: Then, when it was broken forth, if those vigorous courses had been pursued, which the KING proposed, (first to the *Scots*, then, to the *English* Parliament) doubtlesse that Rebellion had been soon suppressed. But what He proposed took so little effect, that in many moneths after, there was nothing sent into *Ireland*, but what the KING Himself sent (assisted by the Duke of *Richmond*) before He came from *Scotland*, unto Sir *Robert Steward*; which, though it were little, will be found to have done much service, as may be seen by the said Sir *Roberts* voluntary Testimony, given in writing to the Parliament Commissioners then attending the KING at *Stoak*. And certainly, a greater evidence for constancy in Religion there cannot be, then the KING shewed in His *Irish Treaty*; for, in the time that He most needed assistance, it was in His power to have made that Kingdom declare unanimously for Him, and have had the whole Forces thereof employed in His Service, if He would have granted their demand in points of Religion, they not insisting in any thing of Civil government, which His Majesty might not have

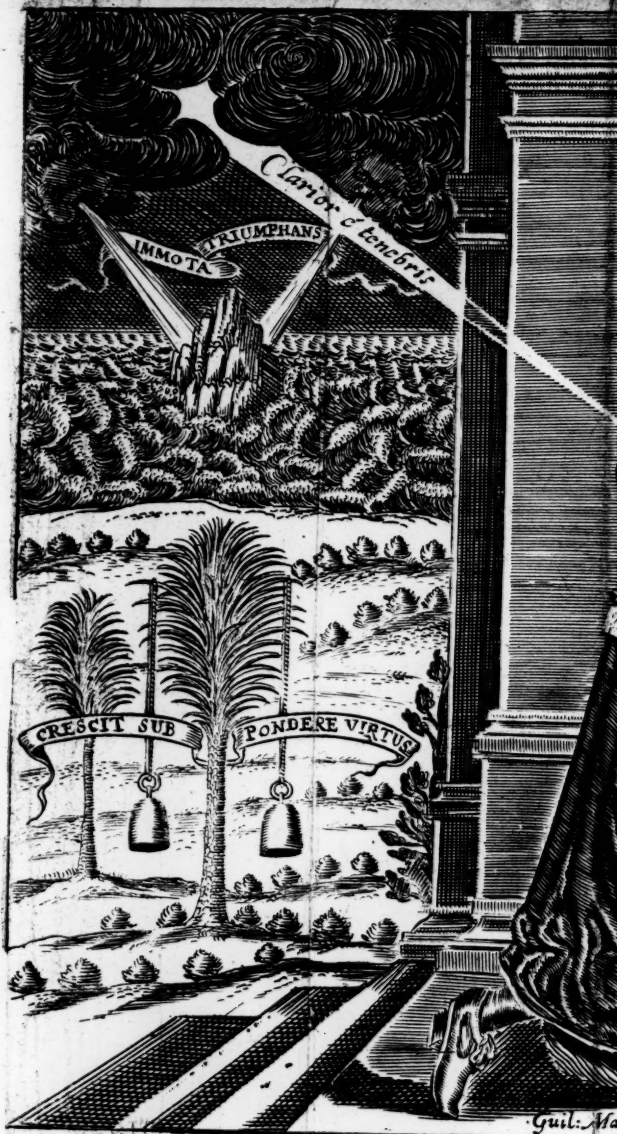
have granted, without prejudice to Regal Authority, and this can be clearly proved, by the Marquess of Ormonds Treaties with the *Irish*, not without very good evidence by some of the *KINGS* Letters to the *QUEEN*; which were taken at *Naseby* that are purposely concealed, lest they should too plainly discover the *KINGS* detestation of that Rebellion, and His rigid firmnesse to the Protestant profession: Nor can I end this point, without remarking with wonder, that Men should have so ill memories, as again to renew that old slander, of the *Kings* giving *Passes* to *drivers Papists*, and persons of quality, who headed the *Rebels*; of which He so cleared Himself, that He demanded reparation for it, but could not have it, albeit no shew of proof could be produced, for that allegation: as is most plainly to be seen in the first book of the Collection of all Remonstrances, Declarations, &c. fol. 69. & 70.

Thus having given a particular Answer to the most material points in this Declaration, the rest are such frivolous, malicious, and many of them groundlesse calumnies, that Contempt is the best answer for them. Yet, one thing more, I must observe, that they not onely endeavour to make Fables passe for currant coin, but likewise seek to blinde Mens judgements, with false inferences upon some Truths: for example: It is true, that the *KING* hath said in some of His Speeches or Declarations, That He oweth an account of His actions to none but God alone; and that the Houses of Parliament joynt or seperate have no power, either to make or declare any Law: But, that this is a fit foundation for all tyranny, I must utterly deny: indeed, if it had been said, that the *KING*, without the two Houses of Parliament, could make or declare Laws, then there might be some strength in the Argument; but, before this Parliament, it was never, so much as pretended, that either or both Houses, without the *KING*, could make or declare any Law, and certainly His

Majesty is not the first (and I hope will not be the last) King of *England*, that hath not held Himself accountable to any Earthly power ; besides it will be found, that this His Majesties position is most agreeable to all Divine and Humane Laws ; so far it is, from being *Destructive to a Kingdom*, or a *foundation for Tyranny*. To conclude, I appeal to God, and the World, whether it can be paralleld by example, or warranted by Justice, that any Man should be slandered, yet denied the sight thereof ; and so far from being permitted to answer, that if He have erred, there is no way left Him to acknowledge or mend it : and yet this is the KINGS present condition ; who is, at this time laid aside ; because He will not consent that the old Fundamental Laws of this Land be changed, Regal Power destroyed, nor, His People submitted to a new Arbitrary Tyrannical Government.









J. Marshall Sculpsit.

Mundi Calco

ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ.

THE
PORTRAITURE
OF
HIS SACRED
MAJESTY
IN HIS
Solitudes and Sufferings.

ROM. 8.

More then Conquerour, &c.

Bona agere, & mala pati, Regium est.



M. DC. XLIX.



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1. 19.7

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Upon His Sacred Majesties incomparable
ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ.

Dread Sir,

Couldst thou before thy death have gi'v'n what we
Might ask, Thy Book had been the *Legacie*.

Thy *Will* can make but *Heirs* of *Monarchie*;

But This doth make each man an Heir of *Thee*.

Blest Soul! *Thou* art now mounted up on High,

Beyond our *Reach*, yet not above our *Eie*.

Lo here Thy *other-self*: Thus thou canst bee

In Heav'n and Earth, without *ubiquitie*.

Like This Thou hast no *Picture*: So Divine,

Might any *Image* be ador'd, 't were *Thine*.

So curious is this Work; 'tis easily known,

'Twas drawn by no mans *Pensil*, but Thine own.

None could expresse a *King*, but *Thou*: We see,

Men cannot, *Gods* may limn a *Deitie*.

The *Style* betraie's a *King*, the *Art* a *Man*

The high *Devotion* speaks a *Christian*.

These meet in CHARLS alone ; but *He*, there's none
So fully *All*, as if He were but *One* :
How short of Thee is *Balzack's* Prince ; He knew
Not how to *think*, what thou knew'st how to *do* :
Thou art the *Copy* for our Kings : and He
Shall still be best, that frames Himself by *Thee* :
Thy Work's a Practick *Pattern* for Thy Son,
Who, having this, shall need no *Xenophon*.
They that would know thy Parts, must read *Thee*: look,
You'll finde each *Line* a *Page*, each *Page* a *Book* :
Each *Comma* is so full, each *Colon* good,
'Tis pity, Death did put a *Period*.
Great *Tully* hath been silenc'd amongst men,
Had but Thy *Tongue* been equal to Thy *Pen* :
But this *Desert* doth prove Thy skil more choice,
That makes the *Eccho* sweeter then the *voice* :
Our *Bodley's* Shelves will now be full ; No man
Will want more Books ; This one's a *Vatican*.
Yet 'tis but CHARLS contracted : Since His fall,
Heav'n hath the *Volume*, Earth the *Manual*.

F:N:G:



I. *Upon His MAJESTIES calling this
PARLIAMENT.*

His last Parliament I called, not more by others advice, and necessity of My affairs, then by My own choice and inclination; who have alwayes thought the right way of Parliaments most iafe for My Crown, and best pleasing to My people: And although I was not forgetful of those sparks, which some Mens distempers formerly studied to kindle in Parliaments, (which by forbearing to convene for some years, I hoped to have extinguished) yet resolving with My Self to give all just satisfaction to modest and sober desires, and to redresse all publick grievances in Church and State; I hoped (by My freedom and their moderation) to preventall misunderstandings, and miscarriages in this: In which, as I feared affairs would meet with some passion and prejudice in other Men, so I resolved they should finde least of them in My Self; not doubting, but by the weight of Reason I should counterpoize the over-ballancings of any Factions.

I was indeed, sorry to hear, with what partiality and popular heat Elections were carried in many places; yet hoping that the gravity and discretion of other Gentlemen would allay & fix the Commons to a due temperament (guiding some mens well-meaning zeal by such rules of moderation as are best both to preserve & restore the health of al states & kingdoms.)

No Man was better pleased with the convening of this Parliament, then My Self; who knowing best the largenesse of My own heart toward My peoples good and just contentment, pleased My Self most in that good and firm understanding, which would hence grow between Me and My people.

All jealousies being laid aside, My own and My Childrens interests gave Me many obligations to seek and preserve the love and welfare of My Subjects. The onely temporal blessing that is left to the ambition of just Monarchs, as their greatest honour and safety, next Gods protection; I cared not to lessen My Self in some things of My wonted prerogative; since I knew I could be no loser, if I might gain but a recompence in My Subjects affections.

I intended not onely to oblige My friends, but Mine Enemies also: exceeding even the desires of those, that were factiously discontented, if they did but pretend to any modest and sober sense.

The *odium* and offences which some mens rigour or remissnesse in Church, and State, had contracted upon My Government, I resolved to have expiated by such Laws, and regulations for the future, as might not onely rectifie what was amisse in practise, but supply what was defective in the constitution: No man having a greater zeal to see Religion settled, and preserved in Truth, Unity, and Order, then My Self; whom it most concerns both in piety, and policy; as knowing, that, no flames, of civil dissentions are more dangerous then those which make Religious pretensions the grounds of Factions.

I resolved to reform, what I should by free and full advice in Parliament be convinced to be amisse; and to grant what ever My Reason and Conscience told Me, was fit to be desired; I wish I had kept My Self within those bounds, and not suffered My own judgement to have been over-born in some things, more by others importunities, then their Arguments;

My

My confidence had lesse betrayed My Self, and My Kingdoms, to those advantages, which some Men sought for, who wanted nothing but power, and occasion to do mischief.

But Our sins being ripe, there was no preventing of Gods justice, from reaping that glory in Our Calamities, which We robbed Him of in Our prosperity.

For thou (O Lord) hast made Us see, that Resolutions of future Reforming do not alwayes satisfie thy Justice, nor prevent thy Vengeance for former miscarriages.

Our sins have overlaid Our hopes; Thou hast taught Vs to depend on thy mercies to forgive, not on Our purpose to amend.

When thou hast vindicated thy glory by thy judgements, and hast shewed Vs, how unsafe it is to offend thee, upon presumptions afterwards to please thee; then I trust thy mercies will restore those blessings to Us, which We have so much abused, as to force thee to deprive Vs of them.

For want of timely repentance of Our sins, thou givest Vs cause to repent of those remedies We too late apply.

Yet I do not repent of My calling this last Parliament; because, O Lord, I did it with an upright intention, to thy glory, and My peoples good.

The miseries which have ensued upon Me and My Kingdoms, are the just effects of thy displeasure upon us; and may be yet (through thy mercy) preparatives of us to future blessings, and better hearts to enjoy them.

O Lord, though thou hast deprived us of many former comforts, yet grant Me and My people the benefit of our afflictions, and thy chastisements; that thy Rod as well as thy Staffe may comfort us: Then shall we dare to account them the strokes not of an Enemy, but a Father: when thou givest us those humble affections, that measure of patience in repentance, which becomes thy children; I shall have no cause to repent the miseries this Parliament hath occasioned, when by them thou hast brought me and my people, unfeignedly to repent of the sins we have committed.

Thy

Thy grace is infinitely better with our sufferings, then our peace could be with our sins.

O thou Sovereign Goodnesse and Wisdom, who over-rulest all our counsels; over-rule also all our hearts; That the worst things we suffer by thy justice, the better we may be by thy mercy.

As our sins have turned our Antidotes into poyson, so let thy Grace turn our poysons into Antidotes.

As the sins of our peace disposed us to this unhappy war, so let this war prepare us for thy blessed peace.

That although I have but troublesome Kingdoms here, yet I may attain to that Kingdom of peace in my heart, and in thy Heaven, which Christ hath purchased, and then wilt give to thy servant (though a sinner) for my Saviours sake. Amen.

II. Upon the Earl of Straffords death.

I Looked upon my Lord of Strafford, as a Gentleman, whose great abilities might make a Prince rather afraid, then ashamed to imploy him, in the greatest affairs of State.

For those were prone to create in him great confidence of undertakings, and this was like enough to betray him to great errors, and many enemies: Wherefore he could not but contract good store, while moving in so high a sphere, and with so vigorous a lustre, he must needs (as the Sun) raise many envious exhalations, which condensed by a popular odium, were capable to cast a cloud upon the brightest merit, and integrity.

Though I cannot in My judgement approve all he did, driven (it may be) by the necessities of times, and the temper of that people, more then led by his own disposition to any height and rigour of actions: yet I could never be convinced of any such criminousness in him, as willingly to expose his life to the stroke of Justice, and malice of his enemies.

I never met with a more unhappy conjuncture of affairs, then in the businesse of that unfortunate Earl : when between My own unsatisfiednesse in conscience, and a necessity (as some told Me) of satisfying the importunities of some people ; I was perswaded by those, that I think wished Me well, to chuse rather what was safe, then what seemed just ; preferring the outward peace of My Kingdoms with Men, before that inward exactnesse of conscience before God.

And indeed I am so far from excusing or denying that compliance on My part (for plenary consent it was not) to his destruction, whom in My judgement I thought not, by any clear Law, guilty of death : That I never bare any touch of conscience with greater regret : which, as a signe of My repentance, I have often with sorrow confessed both to God and Men, as an act of so sinful frailty, that it discovered more a fear of Man, then of God, whose name and place on Earth no Man is worthy to bear, who will avoid inconveniences of State, by acts of so high injustice, as no publick convenience can expiate or compensate.

I see it a bad exchange to wound a mans own conscience, thereby to salve State-Sores ; to calm the storms of popular discontents, by stirring up a tempest in a Mans own bosom.

Nor hath Gods justice failed in the event and sad consequences, to shew the World the fallacy of that Maxime, *Better one man perish (though unjustly) then the people be displeased, or destroyed.* For,

In all likelyhood, I could never have suffered, with My people, greater calamities, (yet with greater comfort) had I vindicated *Straffords* innocency, at least by denying to signe that destructive Bill, according to that justice, which My conscience suggested to Me, then I have done since I gratified some mens unthankful importunities with so cruel a
favour.

FAVOUR. And I have observed, that those, who counselled Me to signe that Bill, have been so far from receiving the rewards of such ingratiatings with the people, that no Men have been harassed and crushed more then they : He onely hath been least vexed by them, who counselled Me, not to consent against the vote of My own Conscience ; I hope God hath forgiven Me and them, the sinful rashnesse of that businessse.

To which, being in My soul so fully conscious, those judgements God hath pleased to send upon Me, are so much the more welcome, as a means (I hope) wth his mercy hath sanctified so to Me, as to make Me repent of that unjust Act, (for so it was to Me) and for the future to teach Me, That the best rule of policy is to prefer the doing of justice, before all enjoyments, and the peace of My Conscience before the preservation of My Kingdoms.

Nor hath any thing more fortified My resolutions against all those violent importunities, which since have sought to gain a like consent from Me, to Acts, wherein My Conscience is unsatisfied, then the sharp touches I have had for what passed Me, in my Lord of *Straffords* businessse.

Not that I resolved to have imployed him in My affairs, against the advice of My Parliament, but I would not have had any hand in his Death, of whose guiltlesnes I was better assured, then any man living could be.

Nor were the Crimes objected against him so clear, as after a long and fair hearing to give convincing satisfaction to the major part of both Houses ; especially that of the Lords, of whom scarce a third part were present, when the Bill passed that House : And for the House of Commons, many Gentlemen, disposed enough to diminish My Lord of *Straffords* greatnesse and power, yet unsatisfied of his guilt in Law, durst not condemn him to dye : who for their Integrity in
their

their Votes, were by Posting their Names, exposed to the popular calumny, hatred, and fury ; which grew then so exorbitant in their clamours for justice, (that is, to have both My self and the two Houses Vote, & do as they would have us) that many (tis thought) were rather terrified to concur with the condemning party, then satisfied that of right they ought so to do.

And that after Act vacating the authority of the precedent, for future imitation, sufficiently tels the World, that some remorse touched even his most implacable enemies, as knowing he had very hard measure, and such as they would be very loath should be repeated to themselves.

This tendernesse and regret I finde in My soul, for having had any hand (and that very unwillingly God knows) in shedding one Mans blood unjustly, (though under the colour and formalities of Justice, and pretences of avoiding publick mischiefs) which may (I hope) be some evidence before God and Man, to all posterity, that I am far from bearing justly the vast load and guilt of all that blood which hath been shed in this unhappy War ; which some Men will need's charge on Me, to ease their own souls, who am, and ever shall be, more afraid to take away any Mans life unjustly, then to lose My own.

But thou, O God of infinite Mercies, forgive me that act of sinful compliance, which hath greater aggravations upon me then any man. Since I had not the least temptation of envy, or malice against him, and by my place should, at least so far, have been a preserver of him, as to have denied my consent to his destruction.

O Lord, I acknowledge my transgression, and my sin is ever before me.

Deliver me from blood guiltinesse, O God, thou God of my salvation, and my tongue shall sing of thy righteousness.

Against thee have I sinned, and done this evil in thy sight, for thou sawest the contradiction between my heart and my hand.

Yet

Yet cast me not away from thy presence, purge me with the blood of my Redeemer, and I shall be clean; wash me with that precious effusion, and I shall be whiter then snow.

Teach me to learn Righteousnesse by thy Judgements, and to see my frailty in thy Justice: while I was perswaded by shedding one mans blood to prevent after-troubles, thou hast for that, among other sins, brought upon me, and upon my Kingdoms, great, long, and heavy troubles.

Make me to prefer Justice, which is thy will, before all contrary clamours, which are but the discoveries of mans injurious will.

It is too much that they have once overcome me, to please them by displeasing thee: O never suffer me for any reason of State, to go against my reason of Conscience, which is highly to sin against thee, the God of Reason, and Judge of our Consciences.

What ever, O Lord, thou seest fit to deprive me of, yet restore unto me the joy of thy Salvation, and ever uphold me with thy free Spirit; which subjects my will to none, but thy light of Reason, Justice, and Religion, which shines in my soul, for thou dost rest truth in the inward parts, and integrity in the outward expressions.

Lord hear the voice of thy Sonnes, and my Saviours blood, which speaks better things; and make me, and my people, to hear the voice of Joy and Gladnesse, that the bones which thou hast broken, may rejoyce in thy Salvation.

III. Upon His Majesties going to the House of Commons.

MY going to the House of Commons to demand Justice upon the five Members, was an act; which My Enemies loaded with all the obloquies and exasperations they could.

It filled indifferent men with great jealousies and fears; yea, and many of My friends resented it as a motion rising rather from Passion then Reason, and not guided with such discretion, as the touchin^{ess} of those times required.

But these men knew not the just motives, and pregnant grounds, with which I thought My self so furnished, that there needed nothing to such evidence, as I could have produced against those I charged, save onely a free and legal Tryal, which was all I desired.

Nor had I any temptation of displeasure, or revenge against those mens persons, further then I had discovered those (as I thought) unlawful correspondencies they had used, and engagements they had made, to embroyl My Kingdoms: of all which I missed but little to have produced writings under some mens own hands, who were the chief Contrivers of the following Innovations.

Providence would not have it so, yet I wanted not such probabilities as were sufficient to raise jealousies in any Kings heart, who is not wholly stupid and neglective of the publick peace, which to preserve, by calling in question half a dozen men, in a fair and legal way (which God knows was all My designe) could have amounted to no worse effect, had it succeeded, then either to do Me, and My Kingdom right, in case they had been found guilty; or else to have cleared their Innocency, and removed My suspicions; which as they were not raised out of any malice, so neither were they in Reason to be smothered.

What flames of discontent this spark (though I sought by all speedy and possible means to quench it) soon kindled, all the world is witness: The aspersions which some men cast upon that action, as if I had designed by force to assault the House of Commons, and invade their priviledge, is so false, that as God best knowes, I had no such intent; so none that attended

tended could justly gather from any thing I then said, or did, the least intimation of any such thoughts.

That I went attended with some Gentlemen, as it was no wonted thing for the Majesty and safety of a King so to be attended, especially in discontented times; so were My followers at that time short of My ordinary Guard, and no way proportionable to hazard a tumultuary conflict. Nor were they more scared at My coming, then I was unassured of not having some affronts cast upon Me, if I had none with Me to preserve a reverence to Me; For many people had (at that time) learn'd to think those hard thoughts, which they have since abundantly vented against Me, both by words and deeds.

The sum of that businessse was this.

Those men, and their adherents were then looked upon by the affrighted vulgar, as greater protectors of their Laws and Liberties, then My Self, and so worthier of their protection. I leave them to God, and their own Consciences, who, if guilty of evil machinations; no present impunity, or popular vindications of them will be subterfuge sufficient to rescue them from those exact Tribunals.

To which, in the obstructions of Justice among men, we must religiously appeal, as being an argument to us Christians of that after unavoidable judgement, which shall re-judge, what among men is but corruptly decided, or not at all.

I endeavoured to have prevented, if God had seen fit, those future commotions, which I foresaw, would in all likelihood follow some Mens activity (if not restrained) and so now hath done to the undoing of many thousands; the more is the pity.

But to over-awe the freedom of the Houses, or to weaken their just Authority by any violent impressions upon them, was not at all My designe: I thought I had so much Justice and Reason on My side, as should not have needed so rough assistance; and I

was

was resolved rather to bear the repulse with patience, then to use such hazardous extremities.

But thou, O Lord, art *My witnesse in Heaven, and in my heart* : If I have purposed any violence or oppression against the Innocent : or if there were any such wickedness in my thoughts.

Then let the enemy persecute my soul, and tread my life to the ground, and lay mine Honour in the dust.

Thou that seeest not as man seeth, but lookest beyond all popular appearances, searching the heart, and trying the reins, and bringing to light the hidden things of darknesse, shew thy self.

Let not my afflictions be esteemed (as with wise and godly men they cannot be) any argument of my sin, in that matter : more then their impunity among good men, is any sure token of their innocency.

But forgive them wherein they have done amisse, though they are not punished for it in this World.

Save thy servant from the privy conspiracies and open violence of bloody and unrrasonable men, according to the uprightness of my heart, and the innocency of my hands in this matter.

Plead my cause, and maintain my right, O thou that sittest in the Throne, judging rightly, that thy servant may ever rejoyce in thy salvation.

IV. Upon the insolency of the Tumults.

I Never thought any thing (except our sins) more ominously presaging all these mischiefs which have followed, then those Tumults in London and Westminster, soon after the Convening of this Parliament; which were not like a storm at Sea, (which yet wants not its terrour) but like an Earthquake, shaking the very foundations of all; then which, nothing in the World hath more of horreur.

As

As it is one of the most convincing Arguments that there is a God, while his power sets bounds to the raging of the Sea: so tis no lesse, that he restrains the madnesse of the people. Nor doth any thing portend more Gods displeasure against a Nation, then when he suffers the confluence and clamours of the vulgar, to passe all boundaries of Laws, and reverence to Authority.

Which those Tumults did to so high degrees of Insolence, that they spared not to invade the Honour and Freedom of the two Houses, menacing, reproaching, shaking, yea, and assaulting some Members of both Houses, as they fancied, or disliked them: Nor did they forbear most rude and unseemly deportments both in contemptuous words and actions, to My Self and My Court.

Nor was this a short fit or two of shaking, as an Ague, but a quotidian Fever, alwayes increasing to higher inflammations, impatient of any mitigation, restraint, or remission.

First, they must be a guard against those fears, which some men feared themselves and others withal; when indeed nothing was more to be feared, and lesse to be used by wise men, then those tumultuary confluxes of mean and rude people, who are taught first to petition, then to protect, then to dictate, at last to command and over-awe the Parliament.

All obstructions in Parliament (that is, all freedom of differing in Votes, and debating matters with Reason and Candor) must be taken away with these Tumults: By these must the Houses be purged, and all rotten Members (as they pleased to count them) cast out: By these the obstinacy of men resolved to discharge their Consciences must be subdned: By these all factious, seditious, and schismatical Proposals against Government Ecclesiastical or Civil, must be backed and abetted, till they prevailed.

Generally, who ever had most minde to bring forth

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forth confusion and ruine upon Church and State, used the Midwifery of those Tumults: whose ryot and impatience was such, that they would not stay the ripening and season of Counsels, or fair production of Acts, in the order, gravity, and deliberatenesse befitting a Parliament; but ripped up with barbarous cruelty, and forcibly cut out abortive Votes, such as their Inviters and Incouragers most fancied.

Yea, so enormous and detestable were their outrages, that no sober man could be without an infinite shame and sorrow to see them so tolerated, and connived at by some, countenanced, incouraged, and applauded by others.

What good man had not rather want any thing he most desired, for the publick good, then obtain it by such unlawful and irreligious means? But mens passions and Gods directions seldom agree; violent designs and motions must have suitable engines, such as too much attend their own ends, seldom confine themselves to Gods means. Force must crowd in what Reason will not lead.

Who were the chief Demagogues and Patrons of Tumults, to send for them, to flatter and embolden them, to direct and tune their clamorous importunities, some men yet living are too conscious to pretend ignorance: God in his due time will let these men see, that those were no fit means to be used for attaining his ends.

But, as it is no strange thing for the Sea to rage, when strong winds blow upon it; so neither for Multitudes to become insolent, when they have men of some reputation for parts and piety to set them on.

That which made their rudeness most formidable, was, that many complaints being made, and Messages sent by My Self and some of both Houses; yet no order for redresse could be obtained with any vigour and efficacy, proportionable to the malignity of that now far spread disease, and predominant mischief.

Such

Such was some mens stupidity, that they feared no inconvenience ; others petulancy, that they joyed to see their betters shamefully outraged, and abused, while they knew their onely security consisted in vulgar flattery : So insensible were they of Mine, or the two Houses common safety and Honours.

Nor could ever any order be obtained, impartially to examine, censure, and punish the known Boute-feus, and impudent Incendiaries, who boasted of the influence they had, and used to convoke those Tumults as their advantages served.

Yea, some (who should have been wiser States-men) owned them as friends, commending their Courage, Zeal, and Industry ; which to sober men could seem no better then that of the Devil, who *goes about seeking whom he may deceive and devour.*

I confesse, when I found such a deafnesse, that no Declaration from the Bishops, who were first foully insolenced and assaulted ; nor yet from other Lords and Gentlemen of Honour ; nor yet from My Self could take place for the due repression of these Tumults ; and securing not onely Our freedom in Parliament, but Our very Persons in the streets ; I thought My Self not bound by My presence, to provoke them to higher boldnesse and contempts ; I hoped by My withdrawing to give time, both for the ebbing of their tumultuous fury, and others regaining some degrees of modesty and sober sense.

Some may interpret it as an effect of pusillanimity, for any Man for popular terrors to desert his publick station. But I think it a hardnesse beyond true valour, for a wise man to set himself against the breaking in of a Sea ; which to resist, at present, threatens imminent danger ; but to withdraw, gives it space to spend its fury, and gains a fitter time to repair the breach. Certainly, a gallant Man had rather fight to great disadvantages for number and place in the field, in an orderly way, then scuffle with an undisciplined rabble.

Some

Some suspected and affirmed that I meditated a War, (when I went from *Whitehall* onely to redeem My Person and Conscience from violence) GOD knows I did not then think of a War. Nor will any prudent Man conceive that I would by so many former, and some after Acts, have so much weakned My Self, if I had purposed to engage in a War, which to decline by all means, I denied My Self in so many particulars: 'Tis evident I had then no Army to flie unto, for protection, or vindication.

Who can blame Me, or any other, for a withdrawing Our Selvs from the daily bairings of the Tumults, not knowing whether their fury and discontent might not flie so high, as to worry and tear those in pieces, whom as yet they but played with in their pawes? God, who is My sole Judge, is My witnesse in Heaven, that I never had any thoughts of going from My House at *Whitehall*, if I could have had but any reasonable fair quarter; I was resolved to bear much, and did so, but I did not think My Self bound to prostitute the Majesty of My place and person, the safety of My Wife and Children, to those who are prone to insult most, when they have objects and opportunity most capable of their rudenesse and petulancy.

But this businesse of the Tumults (whereof some have given already an account to God, others yet living know themselves desperately guilty) Time and the guilt of many hath so smothered up, and buried, that I think it best to leave it, as it is: Onely I believe the just Avenger of all disorders, will in time make those Men, and that City, see their sin in the glasse of their punishment. 'Tis more then an even lay, that they may one day see themselves punished by that way they offended.

Had this Parliament, as it was in its first Election, and Constitution, sate full and free, the Members of both Houses being left to their freedom of Voting, as in all Reason, Honour, and Religion, they should have

have been; I doubt not but things would have been so carried, as would have given no lesse content to all good men, then they wished or expected.

For, I was resolved to hear reason in all things, and to consent to it so far as I could comprehend it: But as Swine are to Gardens and orderly Plantations, so are Tumults to Parliaments, and Plebeian Concourses to publick Counsels, turning all into Disorders and sordid Confusions.

I am prone sometimes to think, That had I called this Parliament to any other place in *England* (as I might opportunely enough have done) the sad consequences in all likelyhood, with Gods blessing, might have been prevented. A Parliament would have been welcome in any place; no place afforded such confluence of various and vitious humours, as that where it was unhappily convened. But we must leave all to God, who orders our disorders, and magnifies his wisdom most, when our follies and miseries are most discovered.

But thou, O Lord, art my refuge and defence, to thee I may safely flie, who rulest the raging of the Sea, and the madnesse of the people.

The floods, O Lord, the floods are come in upon me, and are ready to overwhelme me.

I look upon my sins and the sins of my people, (which are the tumults of our souls against thee, O Lord) as the just cause of these popular inundations which thou permittest to over-bear all the banks of Loyalty, Modesty, Laws, Justice, and Religion.

But thou that gatheredst the waters into one place, and madest the dry land to appear, and after didst assuage the flood which drowned the world, by the word of thy power; Rebuke those beasts of the people, and deliver me from the rudenesse and strivings of the Multitude.

Restore, we beseech thee, unto us, the freedoms of our Councils and Parliaments, make us unpassionately to see the
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the light of Reason and Religion, and with all order and gravity to follow it, as it becomes men and Christians; so shall we praise thy Name, who art the God of order and counsel.

What man cannot or will not repress, thy Omnipotent Justice can and will.

O Lord, give them that are yet living, a timely sense and sorrow for their great sin, whom thou knowest guilty of raising or not suppressing those disorders: Let shame here, and suffering hereafter be their punishment.

Set bounds to our passions by Reason, to our errors by Truth, to our seditions by Laws duly executed, and to our schisms by Charity, that we may be as thy Jerusalem, a City at unity within it self.

This grant, O my God, in thy good time, for Jesus Christs sake, Amen.

V. Upon His Majesties passing the Bill for the Triennial Parliaments: And after settling this, during the pleasure of the two Houses.

THat the World might be fully confirmed in My purposes at first, to contribute, what in Justice, Reason, Honour, and Conscience, I could, to the happy successe of this Parliament, (which had in Me no other design, but the general good of My Kingdoms) I willingly passed the Bill for Triennial Parliaments: which, as gentle and seasonable Phyfick, might (if well applied) prevent any distempers from getting any head or prevailing; especially, if the remedy proved not a disease beyond all remedy.

I conceived, this Parliament would finde work with convenient recesses for the first three years; but I did not imagine that some men would thereby have

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occasioned

occasioned more work then they found to do, by undoing so much as they found wel done to their hands. Such is some mens activity, that they will needs make work rather then want it; and chuse to be doing amisse, rather then do nothing.

When that first Act seemed too scanty to satisfy some mens fears, and compasse publick affairs; I was perswaded to grant that Bill of Sitting during the pleasure of the Houses, which amounted in some mens sense to as much as the perpetuating this Parliament. By this Act of highest confidence, I hoped for ever to shut out, and lock the door upon all present Jealousies and future mistakes: I confesse I did not thereby intend to shut My Self out of doors, as some men have now required Me.

True, It was an Act unparalleld by any of My Predecessours; yet cannot in reason admit of any worse interpretation then this, of an extreme confidence I had, that My Subjects would not make ill use of an Act, by which I declared so much to trust them, as to deny My Self in so high a point of My Prerogative.

For good Subjects will never think it just or fit, that My condition should be worse by My bettering theirs: Nor indeed would it have been so in the events, if some men had known as well with moderation to use, as with earnestnesse to desire advantages of doing good, or evil.

A continual Parliament (I thought) would but keep the Common-weal in tune, by preserving Laws in their due execution and vigour, wherein My interest lyes more then any mans, since by those Laws, My Rights as a KING, would be preserved no lesse then My Subjects, which is all I desired. More then the Law gives Me I would not have, and lesse the meanest Subject should not.

Some (as I have heard) gave it out, that I soon repented Me of that settling Act: and many would needs perswade Me, I had cause so to do; but I could
not

not easily nor suddenly suspect such ingratitude in Men of Honours, That the more I granted them, the lesse I should have, and enjoy with them. I still counted My Self undiminished by My largest concessions, if by them I might gain and confirm the love of My people.

Of which, I do not yet despair, but that God will still blesse Me with increase of it: when men shall have more leisure, and lesse prejudice; that so with unpassionate representations they may reflect upon those (as I think) not more Princely, then friendly contributions, which I granted towards the perpetuating of their happingse, who are now onely miserable in this, That some mens ambition will not give them leave to enjoy what I intended for their good.

Nor do I doubt, but that in Gods due time, the Loyal and cleared affections of My people will strive to return such retributions of honour, and love to Me, or My Posterity, as may fully compensate both the acts of My confidence, and My sufferings for them; which (God knows) hath been neither few, nor small, nor short; occasioned chiefly by a perswasion I had, that I could not grant too much, or distrust too little, to Men, that being professedly My Subjects, pretended singular piety, and religious strictnesse.

The injury of all injuries is, That which some men will needs load Me withal; as if I were a wilful and resolved Occasioner of My own and My Subjects Miseries; while (as they confidently, but (God knows) safely divulge) I repining at the establishment of this Parliament, endeavoured by force and open hostility to undo what by My Royal assent I had done. Sure it had argued a very short sight of things, and extream fatuity of minde in Me, so far to binde My own hands at their request, if I had shortly meant to have used a sword against them. God knows, thotigh I had then a sense of injuries; yet not such, as to think them worth vindicating by a War: I was not then com-

pelled, as since, to injure My Self by their not using favours, with the same candor wherewith they were conferred. The Tumults indeed threatened to abuse all Acts of Grace, and turn them into wantonnesse; but I thought at length their own fears, whose black arts raised up those turbulent Spirits, would force them to conjure them down again.

Nor if I had justly resented any indignities put upon Me, or others, was I then in any capacity to have taken just revenge in an Hostile and Warlike way upon those, whom I knew so well fortified in the love of the meaner sort of the people, that I could not have given My enemies greater, and more desired advantages against Me, then by so unprincely Inconstancy, to have assaulted them with Arms, thereby to scatter them, whom but lately I had solemnly settled by Act of Parliament.

God knows I longed for nothing more, then that My Self and My Subjects might quietly enjoy the fruits of My many condescendings.

It had been a Course full of sin, as well as of Hazard, and dishonour for Me to go about the cutting up of that by the Sword, which I had so lately planted, so much (as I thought) to My Subjects content, and Mine own too, in all probability: if some men had not feared where no fear was, whose security consisted in scaring others.

I thank God I know so well the sincerity and uprightness of My own heart, in passing that great Bill, which exceeded the very thoughts of former times; That although I may seem lesse a Polititian to men, yet I need no secret distinctions or evasions before God. Nor had I any reservations in My own Soul, when I passed it; nor repentings after, till I saw that My letting some Men go up to the pinnacle of the Temple, was a temptation to them to cast Me down head-long.

Concluding, that without a Miracle, Monarchy it
self,

self, together with Me, could not but be dashed in pieces, by such a precipitious fall as they intended. Whom God in mercy forgive, and make them to see at length, That as many Kingdoms as the Devil shewed our Saviour, and the glory of them, (if they could be at once enjoyed by them) are not worth the gaining, by wayes of sinful ingratitude and dishonour, which hazards a Soul worth more Worlds then this hath Kingdoms.

But God hath hitherto preserved Me, and made Me to see, That it is no strange thing for men, left to their own passions, either to do much evil themselves, or abuse the overmuch goodnesse of others, whereof an ungrateful Surfet is the most desperate and incurable disease.

I cannot say properly that I repent of that Act, since I have no reflexions upon it as a sin of My will, though an error of too charitable a judgement: Only I am sorry other mens eyes should be evil, because Mine were good.

To thee (O my God) do I still appeal, whose All-discerning Justice sees through all the disguises of mens pretensions, and deceitful darkneses of their hearts.

Thou gavest me a heart to grant much to my subjects; and now I need a heart fitted to suffer much from some of them.

Thy will be done, though never so much to the crossing of ours, even when we hope to do what might be most conformable to thine and theirs too, who pretended they aimed at nothing else.

Let thy grace teach me wisely to enjoy as well the frustratings, as the fulfillings of my best hopes, and most specious desires.

I see while I thought to allay others fears, I have raised mine own; and by settling them have unsetled my self.

Thus have they requited me evil for good, and barred for my good will towards them.

O Lord be thou my Pilot in this dark and dangerous storm, which neither admits my return to the Port whence I set out, nor my making any other, with that safety and honour which I designed.

Tis easie for thee to keep me safe in the love and confidence of my people; nor is it hard for thee to preserve me amidst the unjust hatred and jealousies of too many, which thou hast suffered so far to prevail upon me, as to be able to pervert and abuse my acts of greatest indulgence to them, and assurance of them.

But no favours from me can make others more guilty then my self may be, of misusing those many and great ones, which thou, O Lord, hast conferred on me.

I beseech thee give me and them such Repentance, as thou wilt accept, and such grace as we may not abuse.

Make me so far happy, as to make a right use of others abuses, and by their failings of me, to reflect, with a reforming displeasure, upon my offences against thee.

So, although by my sins I am by other mens sins deprived of thy temporal blessings, yet I may be happy to enjoy the comfort of thy mercies, which often raise the greatest Sufferers to be the most glorious Saints.

VI. Upon His Majesties retirement from Westminster.

With what unwillingness I withdrew from Westminster, let them judge, who, unprovided of tackling, and victual, are forced by Sea to a storm; yet better do so, then venture splitting or sinking on a Lee shore.

I stayed at Whitehall, till I was driven away by shame more then fear; to see the barbarous rudeness of those Tumults, who resolved they would take the boldness to demand any thing, and not leave, either My Self, or the Members of Parliament the liberty of our Reason and Conscience to deny them any thing.

Nor was this intolerable oppression My ease alone,
(though

(though chiefly Mine) For the Lords and Commons might be content to be over-voted by the *major* part of their Houses, when they had used each their own freedom.

Whose agreeing Votes were not by any Law or Reason conclusive to My judgement; nor can they include, or carry with them My consent, whom they represent not in any kinde: Nor am I further bound to agree with the Votes of both Houses, then I see them agree with the will of God, with My just Rights as a King, and the general good of My people. I see that as many men they are seldom of one minde; and I may oft see, that the *major* part of them are not in the right.

I had formerly declared to sober and moderate mindes, how desirous I was to give all just content, when I agreed to so many Bills, which had been enough to secure and satisfie all, If some mens Hydropick insatiableness had not learned to thirst the more, by how much more they drank; whom no fountain of Royal bounty was able to overcome; so resolved they seemed, either utterly to exhaust it, or barbarously to obstruct it.

Sure it ceases to be Counsel, when not Reason is used, as to men to perswade; but force and terrour as to Beasts, to drive and compel men to assent to whatever tumultuary Patrons shall project. He deserves to be a Slave without pity, or redemption, that is content to have the rational sovereignty of his Soul, and liberty of his will and words so captivated.

Nor do I think My Kingdoms so considerable, as to preserve them with the forfeiture of that freedom, which cannot be denied Me as a King, because it belongs to Me as a Man, and a Christian; owning the dictates of none but God, to be above Me, as obliging Me to consent. Better for Me to dye enjoying this Empire of My Soul, which subjects Me onely to God, so far as by Reason or Religion he directs Me,

then live with the Title of a King, if it should carry such a vassalage with it, as not to suffer Me to use My Reason and Conscience, in which I declare as a King, to like or dislike.

So far am I from thinking the Majesty of the Crown of *England* to be bound by any Coronation Oath, in a blinde and brutish formality, to consent to what ever its Subjects in Parliament shall require, as some men will needs infer; while denying Me any power of a Negative voice as King, they are not ashamed to seek to deprive Me of the liberty of using My Reason with a good Conscience, which themselves, and all the Commons of *England* enjoy proportionable to their influence on the publick; who would take it very ill to be urged, not to deny whatever My Self, as a King, or the House of Peers with Me should, not so much desire as enjoyn them to passe. I think My Oath fully discharged in that point, by My Governing onely by such Laws, as My people with the House of Peers have chosen, and My Self consented to. I shall never think My Self conscientiously tied to go as oft against My Conscience, as I should consent to such new proposals, which My Reason, in Justice, Honour, and Religion bids Me deny.

Yet so tender I see some men are of their being subject to Arbitrary Government, (that is, the Law of anothers will, to which themselves give no consent) that they care not with how much dishonour and absurdity they make their King the onely man, that must be subject to the will of others, without having power left Him to use His own Reason, either in person, or by any Representation.

And if My dissentings at any time were (as some have suspected, and uncharitably avowed) out of error, opinion, activenesse, weaknesse, or wilfulnesse, and what they call obstinacy in Me (which not true Judgement of things, but some vehement prejudice

or passion hath fixed on My minde;) yet can no Man think it other then the Badge and Method of Slavery, by savage rudenesse, and importunate detrusions of violence, to have the mist of his Error and Passion dispelled, which is a shadow of Reason, and must serve those that are destitute of the substance. Sure that man cannot be blameable to God or Man, who seriously endeavours to see the best reason of things, and faithfully follows what he takes for Reason: The uprightness of his intentions will excuse the possible failings of his understanding: If a Pilot at Sea cannot see the Pole-star, it can be no fault in him to steer his course by such stars as do best appear to him. It argues rather those men to be conscious of their defects of Reason, and convincing Arguments, who call in the assistance of meer force to carry on the weaknesse of their Councils, and Proposals. I may, in the truth and uprightness of My heart, protest before God and Men, that I never wilfully opposed, or denied any thing, that was in a fair way, after full and free debates propounded to Me, by the two Houses, further then I thought in good Reason I might, and was bound to do.

Nor did any thing ever please Me more, then when My judgement concurred with theirs, that so I might with good Conscience consent to them: yea, in many things where not absolute and moral necessity of Reason, but temporary convenience on point of Honour was to be considered, I chose rather to deny My Self, then them; as preferring that which they thought necessary for My peoples good, before what I saw but convenient for My Self.

For I can be content to recede much from My own Interests, and personal Rights, of which I conceive My Self to be Master; but in what concerns Truth, Justice, the Rights of the Church, and My Crown, together with the general good of My Kingdoms; (all which I am bound to preserve as much as

morally lies in Me;) here I am, and ever shall be fixt and resolute, nor shall any man gain My consent to that, wherein My heart gives My tongue or hand the Lye; nor will I be brought to affirm that to Men, which in My Conscience I denied before God. I will rather chuse to wear a Crown of Thorns with My Saviour, then to exchange that of Gold (which is due to Me) for one of Lead, whose embased flexiblenesse shall be forced to bend, and comply to the various, and oft contrary dictates of any Factions; when in stead of Reason, and publick concernments, they obtrude nothing but what makes for the interest of parties, and flows from the partialities of private Wills and passions.

I know no resolutions more worthy a Christian King, then to prefer His Conscience before His Kingdoms.

O my God, preserve thy servant in this Native, Rational, and Religious freedom; For this I believe is thy will, that we should maintain: who, though thou dost justly require us, to submit our understandings and wils to thine; whose wisdom and goodnesse can neither erre, nor misguide us, and so far to deny our carnal reason, in order to thy sacred mysteries, and commands, that we should believe and obey rather then dispute them; yet dost thou expect from us, onely such a reasonable service of thee, as not to do any thing for thee against our consciences; and as to the desires of men, enjoynest us to try all things by the Touchstone of Reason and Laws, which are the ru'es of Civil Justice; and to declare our consents to that onely which our judgments approve.

Thou knowest, O Lord, how unwilling I was to desert that place in which thou hast set me, and whereto the affairs of my Kingdom at present did call me.

My people can witnesse how far I have been content for their good, to deny my self, in what thou hast subjected to my disposal.

Let not the unthankful importunities, and tumultuary

violence of some mens immoderate demands, ever betray me to that degenerate and unmanly slavery, which should make me strengthen them by my consent in those things which I think in my conscience to be against thy glory, the good of my subjects, and the discharge of my own duty to Reason and Justice.

Make me willing to suffer the greatest indignities and injuries they presse upon me, rather then commit the least sin against my conscience.

Let the just liberties of my people be (as well they may) preserved in fair and equal wayes, without the slavery of my soul.

Thou that hast invested me by thy favours, in the power of a Christian King, suffer me not to subject my reason to other mens passions, and designs, which to me seem unreasonable, unjust, and irreligious: So shall I serve thee in the truth and uprightness of my heart, though I cannot satisfie these men.

Though I be driven from among them, yet give me grace to walk alwayes uprightly before thee.

Lead me in the way of Truth and Justice, for these, I know, will bring me at last to peace and happiness with thee; though for these I have much trouble among men.

This I beg of thee for my Saviours sake.

VII. Upon the Queens departure, and absence out of England.

Although I have much cause to be troubled at My Wifes departure from Me, and out of My Dominions; yet not her absence, so much, as the scandal of that necessity, which drives her away, doth afflict Me. That she should be compelled by My own Subjects, and those pretending to be Protestants, to withdraw for her safety: This being the first example of any Protestant Subjects, that have taken up Arms against their King, a Protestant: For I look upon this now done in England, as another Act

of the same tragedy w^{ch} was lately begun in Scotland; the brands of that fire being ill quenched, have kindled the like flames here. I fear such motions (so little to the adorning of the Protestant profession) may occasion a farther alienation of the minde, and divorce of affections in her, from that Religion, which is the onely thing wherein we differ.

Which yet God can, and I pray he would in time take away; and not suffer these practises to be any obstruction to her judgement; since it is the motion of those men, (for the most part) who are yet to seek and settle their Religion for Doctrine, Government, and good Maners, and so not to be imputed to the true English Protestants, who continue firm to their former settled Principles and Laws.

I am sorry My relation to so deserving a Lady, should be any occasion of her danger and affliction; whose merits would have served her for a protection among the Savage Indians; while their rudeness and barbarity knows not so perfectly to hate all Vertues, as some mens subtilty doth; among whom I yet think few are so malicious as to hate her for her self. The fault is, that she is My Wife.

All justice then as well as affection commands Me, to study her Security, who is onely in danger for My sake; I am content to be tossed, weather-beaten, and shipwrackt, so as she may be in safe Harbor.

This comfort I shall enjoy by her safety in the midst of My personal dangers, that I can perish but half, if she be preserved: In whose memory, and hopeful posterity, I may yet survive the malice of My enemies, although they should be satiated with My blood.

I must leave her, and them, to the Love and Loyalty of My good Subjects; and his protection, who is able to Punish the faults of Princes, and no lesse severely to revenge the injuries done to them, by those who in all duty and Allegiance, ought to have made

made good that safety, which the Laws chiefly provide for Princes.

But common civility is in vain expected from those that dispute their Loyalty: Nor can it be safe (for any relation) to a King, to tarry among them who are shaking hands with their Allegiance, under pretence of laying faster hold on their Religion.

Tis pity so noble and peaceful a Soul should see, much more suffer the rudenesse of those who must make up their want of justice, with inhumanity and impudence

Her sympathy with Me in My afflictions, will make her vertues shine with greater lustre, as stars in the darkest nights: and assure the envious World, that she loves Me, not My fortunes.

Neither of Us but can easily forgive, since We do not much blame the unkindnesse of the Generality, and Vulgar; for We see God is pleased to try both our patience, by the most self-punishing sin, the Ingratitude of those, who having eaten of Our bread, and being enriched with Our bounty, have scornfully lift up themselves against Us; and those of Our own Household are become Our enemies. I pray God lay not their sin to their charge, who think to satisfie all obligations to duty, by their Corban of Religion: and can lesse endure to see, then to sin against their benefactors as well as their Sovereigns.

But even that policy of My enemies is so far venial, as it was necessary to their designes, by scandalous Articles, and all irreverent demeanour, to seek to drive her out of My Kingdoms; lest by the influence of her example, eminent for love as a Wife, and Loyalty as a Subject, she should have converted to, or retained in their love, and Loyalty, all those whom they had a purpose to pervert.

The lesse I may be blest with her company, the more I will retire to God, and My own Heart, whence no malice can banish Her. My Enemies
may

may envy, but they can never deprive Me of the enjoyment of her vertues, while I enjoy My Self.

Thou, O Lord, whose justice at present sees fit to scatter us, let thy mercy, in thy due time, reunite us, on earth, if it be thy will; however, bring us both at last to thy heavenly Kingdom.

Preserve us from the hands of our despitiful and deadly enemies; and prepare us by our sufferings for thy presence.

Though we differ in some things, as to Religion, (which is my greatest temporal infelicity) yet Lord give, and accept the sincerity of our affections, which desire to seek, to finde, to embrace every truth of thine.

Let both our hearts agree in the love of thy self, and Christ crucified for us.

Teach us both what thou wouldst have us to know, in order to thy glory, our publick relations, and our souls eternal good, and make us careful to do what good we know.

Let neither ignorance of what is necessary to be known, nor unbelief, or disobedience to what we know, be our misery or our wilful default.

Let not this great Scandal of those my Subjects, which professe the same Religion with me, be any hindrance to her love of any truth thou wouldst have her to learn, nor any hardning of her, in any error thou wouldst have cleared to her.

Let mine, and other mens constancy, be an antidote against the poyson of their example.

Let the truth of that Religion I professe, be represented to her judgement, with all the beauties of humility, loyalty, charity, and peaceableness: which are the proper fruits and ornaments of it: Not in the odious disguises of Levity, Schism, Heresie, Novelty, Cruelty, and Disloyalty, which some mens practises have lately put upon it.

Let her see thy sacred and saving truths, as thine, that she may believe, love and obey them as thine, cleared from all rust and drosse of humane mixtures.

That

That in the glasse of thy truth she may see thee, in those mercies which thou hast offered to us, in thy Son Jesus Christ, our onely Saviour, and serve thee in all those holy duties, which most agree with his holy Doctrine, and most imitable example.

The experience we have of the vanity, and uncertainty of all humane glory, & greatness in our scatterings & eclipses, let it make us both so much the more ambitious to be invested in those durable honours and perfections, which are only to be found in thy self, and obtained through Jesus Christ.

VIII. *Upon His Majesties repulse at Hull, and the fates of the Hothams.*

MY repulse at *Hull* seemed at the first view an act of so rude disloyalty, that My greatest enemies had scarce confidence enough to abet, or own it: It was the first overt Essay to be made, how patiently I could bear the losse of My Kingdoms.

God knows, it affected Me more with shame and sorrow for others, then with anger for My Self: nor did the affront done to Me trouble Me so much as their sin, which admitted no colour or excuse.

I was resolved how to bear this, and much more with patience: But I foresaw they could hardly contain themselves within the compasse of this one unworthy act, who had effrontery enough to commit, or countenance it. This was but the hand of that cloud, which was soon after to overspread the whole Kingdom, and cast all into disorder and darknesse.

For tis among the wicked Maximes of bold and disloyal undertakers, That bad actions must alwayes be seconded with worse, and rather not begun, then not carried on: for they think the retreat more dangerous then the assault, and hate repentance more then perseverance in a fault.

This

This gave Me to see clearly through all the pious disguises, and soft palliations of some men; whose words were sometime smother then oyl, but now I saw they would prove very Swords.

Against which I having (as yet) no defence, but that of a good Conscience, thought it My best policy (with patience) to bear what I could not remedy.

And in this (I thank God) I had the better of *Hotham*, that no disdain, or emotion of passion transported Me, by the indignity of his carriage, to do or say any thing unbeseeming My Self, or unsuitable to that temper, which, in greatest injuries, I think best becomes a Christian, as coming nearest to the great example of CHRIST.

And indeed, I desire alwayes more to remember I am a Christian, then a King: for what the Majesty of one might justly abhor, the Charity of the other is willing to bear: what the height of a King tempteth to revenge, the humility of a Christian teacheth to forgive. Keeping in compasse all those impotent passions, whose excesse injuries a man, more then his greatest enemies can: for these give their malice a full impression on our souls, which otherwayes cannot reach very far, nor do us much hurt.

I cannot but observe how God not long after so pleaded, and avenged My cause, in the eye of the World, that the most wilfully blinde cannot avoide the displeasure to see it, and with some remorse and fear to own it as a notable stroke, and prediction of Divine Vengeance.

For, Sir *John Hotham* unreproached, unthreatned, uncursed by any language or secret imprecation of Mine, onely blasted with the conscience of his own wickednesse, and falling from one incenstancy to another, not long after pays his own and his eldest sons heads, as forfeitures of their disloyalty, to those men, from whom surely he might have expected another reward, then thus to divide their heads from their

their bodies, whose hearts with them were divided from their King.

Nor is it strang, that they who imployed them at first in so high a service, and so successful to them, should not finde mercy enough to forgive him, who had so much premerited of them : For, Apostacy unto Loyalty, some men account the most unpardonable sin.

Nor did a solitary vengeance serve the turn, the cutting off one head in a Family, is not enough to expiate the affront done to the Head of the Commonwealth. The eldest Son must be involved in the punishment, as he was infected with the sin of the Father, against the Father of his Counsrey : Root and Branch God cuts off in one day.

These observations are obvious to every fancy: God knows, *I* was so far from rejoycing in the *Hothams* ruine, (though it were such as was able to give the greatest thirst for revenge a full draught, being executed by them who first imployed him against Me) that *I* so far pitied him, as *I* thought he at first acted more against the light of his Conscience, then *I* hope many other men do in the same Cause.

For, he was never thought to be of that superstitious sownenness, which some men pretend to, in matters of Religion : which so darkens their judgement, that they cannot see any thing of Sin and Rebellion in those means, they use, with intents to reform to their Models, of what they call Religion, who think all is gold of piety, which doth but glister with a shew of zeal and fervency.

Sir *John Hotham* was (I think) a man of another temper, and so most liable to those down-right temptations of ambition, which have no cloak or cheat of Religion to impose upon themselves or others.

That which makes Me more pity him is, that after he began to have some inclinations towards a repentance for his sin, and reparation of his duty to Me, he should be so unhappy as to fall into the hands of their Justice,

Justice, and not My Mercy, who could as willingly have forgiven him, as he could have asked that favour of Me.

For I think clemency a debt, which we ought to pay to those that crave it, when we have cause to believe they would not after abuse it, since God himself suffers us not to pay any thing for his mercy, but onely prayers and praises.

Poor Gentleman, he is now become a notable monument of unprosperous disloyalty, teaching the World by so sad and unfortunate a spectacle, that the rude carriage of a Subject towards his Sovereign, carries always its own vengeance, as an unseparable shadow with it; and those oft prove the most fatal, and implacable Executioners of it, who were the first employers in the service.

After-times will dispute it, whether *Hotham* were more infamous at *Hull*, or at *Tower-Hill*: though tis certain that no punishment so stains a mans honour, as wilful preparations of unworthy actions: which besides the conscience of the sin, brands with most indeleble Characters of Infamy, the name and memory to posterity, who not engaged in the Factions of the times, have the most impartial reflections on the actions.

But thou, O Lord, who hast in so remarkable a way avenged thy Servant, suffer me not to take any secret pleasure in it, for his death hath satisfied the injury he did to me: so let me not by it gratifie any passion in me, lest I make thy vengeance to be mine, and consider the affront against me, more then the sin against thee.

Thou indeed, without any desire or endeavour of mine, hast made his mischief to return on his own head, and his violent dealing to come down on his pate.

Thou hast pleaded my cause, even before the sons of men, and taken the matter into thine own hands: that men may know it was thy work, and see that thou, Lord, hast done it.

I do not, I dare not say, so let mine enemies perish, O Lord! yea Lord, rather give them repentance, pardon, and impunity, if it be thy blessed will.

Let not thy justice prevent the objects and opportunities of thy mercy: yea, let them live and amend who have most offended me in so high a nature; that I may have those to forgive, who bear most proportion in their offences to those trespasses against thy Majesty, which I hope thy mercy hath forgiven me.

Lord lay not their sins (who yet live) to their charge for condemnation, but to their consciences for amendment: Let the lightning of this thunderbolt, which hath been so severe a punishment to one, be a terror to all.

Discover to them their sin, who know not they have done amisse, and scare them from their sin, that sin of malicious wickednesse.

That preventing thy judgements by their true repentance, they may escape the strokes of thine eternal vengeance.

And do thou, O Lord, establish the Throne of thy servant in mercy and truth, meeting together: Let my Crown ever flourish in righteousness and peace, kissing each other.

Hear my prayer, O Lord, who hast taught us to pray for, to do good to, and to love our enemies, for thy sake; who hast prevented us with offerures of thy love, even when we were thine enemies, and hast set thy Son Jesus Christ to dye for us, when we were disposed to crucifie him.

IX. Upon the Lifting, and raising Armies against the King.

I Finde that I am at the same point and posture I was, when they forced Me to leave Whitehall: what Tumults could not do, an Army must; which is but Tumults lifted and enrolled to a better order, but as
bad

order, but as bad an end : My recess hath given them confidence that I may be conquered.

And so I easily may, as to any outward strength, which, God knows, is little or none at all : But I have a Soul invincible through Gods grace enabling Me ; here I am sure to be Conquerour, if God will give Me such a measure of Constancy, as to fear him more than man : and to love the inward peace of My Conscience before any outward tranquillity.

And must I be opposed with force , because they have not reason wherewith to convince Me ? O My Soul ! be of good courage, they confesse their known weaknesse, as to truth and Justice, who chose rather to contend by Armies, then by Arguments.

Is this the reward and thanks that I am to receive for those many Acts of Grace I have lately passed ; and for those many indignities I have endured ? Is there no way left to make Me a glorious King , but by my sufferings ?

It is a hard and disputable choice for a King , that loves his people, and desires their love, either to kill his own Subjects, or to be killed by them.

Are the hazards and miseries of Civil War in the bowels of My most flourishing Kingdom , the fruits I must now reap after seventeen years living and Reigning among them , with such a measure of Justice, Peace, Plenty, and Religion, as all nations about either admired or envied ? notwithstanding some miscarriages in Government, which might escape ; rather through ill counsel of some men driving on their private ends , or the peevishnesse of others, envying the publick should be managed without them, or the hidden and insuperable necessities of State, then any propensity, I hope, of My Self, either to injuriousnesse or oppression.

Whose innocent blood during My Reign have I shed, to satisfie My Lust, Anger, or Covetousnesse ? What Widows or Orphans tears can witness against Me ;

Me; the just cry of which must now be avenged with My own blood? For the hazards of War are equal, nor doth the Canon know any respect of persons.

In vain is My person excepted by a Parenthesis of words, when so many hands are armed against Me with Swords.

God knows how much I have studied, to see what ground of Justice is alledged for this War against Me; that so I might (by giving just satisfaction) either prevent, or soon end so unnatural a motion: which (to many men) seems rather the productions of a surfeit of peace, and wantonnesse of mindes, or of private discontents, Ambition and Faction (which easily find, or make causes of quarrel) then any real obstructions of publick Justice, or Parliamentary priviledge.

But this is pretended, and this I must be able to avoid and answer before God in My own Conscience, however some men are not willing to believe Me, lest they should condemn themselves.

When I first withdrew from *Whitehall*, to see if I could allay the insolence of the Tumults, (of the not suppressing of which, no account in Reason can be given, where an orderly Guard was granted) but onely to oppresse both Mine and the two Houses freedom of declaring and voting according to every mans Conscience) what obstructions of Justice were there further then this, That what seemed just to one man, might not seem so one to another.

Whom did I by power protect against the Justice of Parliament.

That some men withdrew who feared the partiality of their tryal, (warned by My Lord of *Straffords* death) while the Vulgar threatned to be their Oppressors, and Judgers of their Judges, was from that instinct w^h is in all Creatures to preserve themselves. If any others refused to appear, where they evidently saw the current of Justice and Freedom so stopped

stopped and troubled by the Rabble, that their lawful Judges either durst not come to the Houses, or not declare their sense with liberty and safety; it cannot seem strange to any reasonable man, when the sole exposing them to publick *odium* was enough to ruine them, before their Cause could be heard or tried.

Had not factious Tumults overborn the freedom and honour of the two Houses; had they asserted their justice against them, and made the way open for all the Members quietly to come and declare their consciences: I know no Man so dear to Me, whom I had the least inclination to advise either to withdraw himself, or deny appearing upon their Summons, to whose sentence according to Law (I think) every Subject bound to stand.

Distempers (indeed) were risen to so great a height, for want of timely repressing the vulgar insolencies; that the greatest guilt of those which were Voted and demanded as Delinquents was this, That they would not suffer themselves to be over-awed with the Tumults, and their Patrons; nor compelled to abet by their suffrages, or presence: the designs of those men who agitated innovations, and ruine, both in Church and State.

In this point I could not but approve their generous constancy and cautiousness; further then this I did never allow any mans refractoriness against the priviledges and orders of the Houses; to whom I wished nothing more, then Safety, Fulness, and Freedom.

But the truth is, some men, and those not many, despairing in fair and Parliamentary wayes, by free deliberations and Votes, to gain the concurrence of the major part of Lords and Commons, betook themselves (by the desperate activity of factious Tumults) to sift and terrifie away all those Members whom they saw to be of contrary mindes to their purposes.

How

How oft was the businesse of the Bishops enjoying their ancient places, and undoubted priviledges in the House of Peers, carried for them by far the *major* part of Lords? Yet after five repulses, contrary to all Order and Custom, it was by tumultuary instigations obtruded again, and by a few carried, when most of the Peers were forced to absent themselves.

In like manner, as the Bill against Root and Branch, brought on by tumultuary Clamours, and schismatical Terrors, which could never passe, till both Houses were sufficiently thinned and over-awed.

To which partiality, while in all Reason, Justice and Religion, My Conscience forbids Me by consenting to make up their Votes to Acts of Parliament; I must now be urged with an Army, and constrained either to hazard Mine own, and My Kingdoms ruine, by My Defence; or prostrate My conscience to the blinde obedience of those men, whose zealous superstition thinks, or pretends, they cannot do God and the Church a greater service, then utterly to destroy that Primitive, Apostolical, and anciently Universal Government of the Church by Bishops.

Which if other mens judgements binde them to maintain, or forbids them to consent to the abolishing of it, Mine much more; who, besides the grounds I have in My judgement, have also a most strict and indispensable Oath upon My Conscience, to preserve that Order, and the Rights of the Church; to which, most Sacrilegious and abhorred Perjury, most unbecoming a Christian King, should I ever by giving My consent be betrayed, I should account it infinitely greater misery, then any hath, or can befall Me; in as much as the least sin hath more evil in it, then the greatest affliction. Had I gratified their Anti-episcopal Faction, at first in this point, with My Consent, and sacrificed the Ecclesiastical Government, and Revenues, to the fury of their covetousnesse, ambition, and revenge, I believe they would then have found

found no colourable necessity of raising an Army to fetch in, and punish Delinquents.

That I consented to the Bill of putting the Bishops out of the House of Peers, was done with a firm persuasion of their contentednesse to suffer a present diminution in their Rights and Honour for My sake, and the Common-weals, which I was confident they would readily yeeld unto, rather then occasion (by the least obstruction on their part) any dangers to Me, or to My Kingdom. That I cannot adde My consent for the total extirpation of that Government (which I have often offered to all fit regulations) hath so much further tye upon My Conscience, as what I think Religions and Apostolical; and so very Sacred and Divine, is not to be dispensed with, or destroyed, when what is onely of a civil Favour, and privilege of Honour granted to men of that Order, may with their consent who are concerned in it, be annulled.

This is the true state of those obstructions pretended to be in point of Justice and Authority of Parliament; when I call God to witnesse, I knew none of such consequence as was worth speaking of a War, being onely such as Justice, Reason, and Religion had made in My own and other mens Consciences.

Afterwards indeed a great shew of Delinquents was made; which were but consequences necessarily following upon Mine, or others withdrawing from, or defence against violence: but those could not be the first occasion of raising an Army against Me. Wherein I was so far from preventing them, (as they have declared often, that they might seem to have the advantage and justice of the defensive part, and load Me with all the envy and injuries of first assaulting them) that God knows I had not so much as any hopes of an Army in My thoughts. Had the Tumults been Honourably and Effectually repressed by exemplary Justice, and the liberty of the Houses so vindicated,
that

that all Members of either House might with Honour and Freedom, becoming such a Senate, have come and discharged their Consciences, I had obtained all that I designed by My withdrawing, and had much more willingly, and speedily returned then I retired; this being My necessity driving, the other My choice desiring.

But some men know, I was like to bring the same judgement and constancy, which I carried with Me, which would never fit their designs: and so while they invited Me to come, and grievously complained of My absence, yet they could not but be pleased with it: especially when they had found out that plausible and popular pretext, of raising an Army to fetch in Delinquents: when all that while they never punished the greatest and most intolerable Delinquency of the Tumults, and their Exciters, which drove My Self, and so many of both Houses from their places, by most barbarous indignities, which yet in all Reason and Honour, they were as loath to have deserted, as those others were willing they should, that so they might have occasion to persecute them with the injuries of an Army, for not suffering more tamely the injuries of the Tumults.

That this is the true state, and first drift and design in raising an Army against Me, is by the sequel so evident, that all other pretences vanish. For when they declared by Propositions, or Treaties, what they would have to appeal them, there was nothing of consequence offered to Me, or demanded of Me, as any original difference in any point of Law, or order of Justice. But among other lesser Innovations, this chiefly was urged, The Abolition of Episcopal, and the Establishment of Presbyterian Government.

All other things at any time propounded were either impertinent as to any ground of a War, or easily granted by Me, and onely to make up a number;

or else they were meerly consequential, and accessary, after the War was by them unjustly begun.

I cannot hinder other mens thoughts, whom the noise and shew of piety, and heat for Reformation and Religion, might easily so fill with prejudice, that all equality and clearnesse of judgement might be obstructed. But this was, and is, as to My best observation, the true state of affairs between us, when they first raised an Army, with this designe, either to stop My mouth, or to force My consent: and in this truth, as to My conscience, (who was (God knows) as far from meditating a War, as I was in the eye of the World from having any preparation for one) I finde that comfort, that in the midst of all the unfortunate successes of this War, on My side, I do not think My innocency any whit prejudiced or darkened; Nor am I without that integrity, and peace before God, as with humble confidence to addresse My prayer to him.

For thou, O Lord, seest clearly through all the cloudings of humane affairs; Thou judgest without prejudice: Thy Omniscience eternally guides thy unerrable judgement.

O my God, the proud are risen against me, and the assemblies of violent men have sought after my soul, and have not set Thee before their eyes.

Consider my enemies, O Lord, for they are many, and they hate me with a deadly hatred without a cause.

For thou knowest, I had no passion, designe, or preparation to embroyl my kingdoms in a Civil War; whereto I had least temptation; as knowing I must adventure more then any, and could gain least of any by it.

Thou, O Lord, art my witnesse how oft I have deplored, and studied to divert the necessity thereof, wherein I cannot well be thought so prodigally thirsty of my Subjects blood, as to adventure my own life, which I have been oft compelled to do in this unhappy War; and which were better spent to save, then to destroy my people.

O Lord, I need much of thy grace, with patience to bear the many afflictions thou hast suffered some men to bring upon me : but much more to bear the unjust reproaches of those, who not content that I suffer most by the War, will needs perswade the world that I have raised the first, or given just cause to raise it.

The confidence of some mens false tongues is such, that they would make me almost suspect my own innocency : Yea, I could be content (at least by my silence) to take upon me so great a guilt before men, if by that I might allay the malice of my Enemies, and redeem my people from this miserable War ; since thou, O Lord, knowest my innocency in this thing.

Thou wilt finde out bloody and deceitful men ; many of whom have not lived out half their dayes, in which they promised themselves the enjoyment of the fruits of their violent and wicked counsels.

Save, O Lord, thy servant, as hitherto thou hast, and in thy due time scatter the people that delight in War.

Arise, O Lord, lift up thyself, because of the rage of mine Enemies, which encreaseth more and more : Behold them that have conceived mischief ; travelled with iniquity, and brought forth falshood.

Thou knowest the chief designe of this War is, either to destroy my person, or force my judgement, and to make me renege my Conscience and thy Truth.

I am driven to crosse Davids choice and desire, rather to fall into the hands of men, by denying them, (though their mercies be cruel) then into thy hands by sinning against my Conscience, and in that against thee, who art a consuming fire : better they destroy me, then thou shouldst damn me.

Be thou ever the defence of my soul, who wilt save the upright in heart.

If nothing but my blood will satisfie my Enemies, or quench the flames of my Kingdoms, or thy temporal Justice, I am content if it be thy will, that it be shed by mine own Subjects hands.

But O let the blood of me, though their King, yet a sinner, be washed with the blood of my innocent and peace-making Redeemer, for in that thy justice will finde not only a temporary expiation, but an eternal plenary satisfaction, both for my sins, and the sins of my people; whom I beseech thee still own for thine, and when thy wrath is appeased by my death, O remember thy great mercies toward them, and forgive them, O my Father I for they know not what they do.

X. Upon their seizing the Kings Magazines, Forts, Navy, and Militia.

How untruly I am charged with the first raising of an Army, and beginning this Civil War, the eyes that onely pity Me, and the Loyal hearts that durst onely pray for Me, at first might witnesse, which yet appear not so many on My side, as there were men in Arms listed against Me; My unpreparednesse for a War may well dishearten those that would help Me; while it argues (truly) My unwillingnesse to fight, yet it testifies for Me, that I am set on the defensive part; having so little hopes or power to offend others, that I have none to defend My Self, or to preserve what is Mine own from their proreption.

No man can doubt but they prevented Mee in their purposes, as well as their injuries, who are so much before-hand in their preparations against Me, and surprizals of My strength. Such as are not for them, yet dare not be for Me; so over-aw'd is their Loyalty by the others numbers and terrors. I believe My innocency, and unpreparednesse to assert My Rights and Honour, makes Me the more guilty in their esteem; who would not so easily have declared a War against Me, if I had first assaulted them.

They

They knew my chiefeſt Arms left Me, were thoſe onely, which the ancient Chriſtians were wont to uſe againſt their Perſecutors, Prayers and Tears. Theſe may ſerve a good mans turn, if not to conquer as a Souldier, yet to ſuffer as a Martyr.

Their preventing of Me, and ſurprizing My Caſtles, Forts, Arms, and Navy, with the Militia, is ſo far beſt for Me, that it may drive Me from putting any truſt in the arm of fleſh, and wholly to caſt My Self into the protection of the living God, who can ſave by few or none, as well as by many.

He that made the greedy Ravens to be *Elias* Caterers, and bring him food, may alſo make their ſurpriſal of outward force and defence, an opportunity to ſhew Me the ſpecial ſupport of his power and protection.

I thank God I reckon not now the want of the Militia, ſo much in reference to My own protection, as My peoples.

Their many and ſore oppreſſions grieve Me, I am above My own; what I want in the hands of Force and Power, I have in the wings of Faith and Prayer.

But this is the ſtrange method theſe men will needs take, to reſolve their Riddle of making Me a glorious King, by taking away My Kingly power: Thus I ſhall become a ſupport to My friends, and a terrour to My Enemies, by being unable to ſuccour the one, or ſuppreſſe the other.

For thus have they deſigned and propoſed to Me, the new modelling of Sovereignty and Kingship, as without any reality of power, or without any neceſſity of ſubjection and obedience: That the Ma-jeſty of the **KINGS** of *England*, might hereafter hang, like *Mahomets* Tomb, by a magnetique-Charm, between the Power and Priviledges of the two Houſes, in an airy imagination of Regality.

But I believe the surfeit of too much power, which some men have greedily seized on, and now seek wholly to devour, will ere long make the Commonwealth sick both of it and them, since they cannot well digest it; Sovereign power in Subjects, seldom agreeing with the stomachs of fellow Subjects.

Yet I have even in this point of the constant Militia, sought, by satisfying their fears, and importunities both to secure My friends, and overcome Mine Enemies, to gain the peace of all, by depriving My Self of a sole power to help, or hurt any: yielding the Militia (which is My undoubted Right no lesse then then the Crown) to be disposed of as the two Houses shall think fit, during My time.

So willing am I to bury all jealousies in them, of Me, and to live above all jealousies of them, as to My Self; I desire not to be safer then I wish them and My people: If I had the sole actual disposing of the Militia, I could not protect my people, further then they protected Me, and themselves: so that the use of the Militia is mutual. I would but defend My Self so far, as to be able to defend My good Subjects from those mens violence and fraud, who conscious to their own evil merits and designs, will needs persuade the World, That none but Wolves are fit to be trusted with the custody of the Shepherd and his Flock. Miserable experience hath taught My Subjects, since power hath been wrested from Me, and employed against Me and them! that neither can be safe, if both be not in such a way, as the Law hath intrusted the publick safety and welfare.

Yet even this concession of Mine, as to the exercise of the Militia, so vast and large, is not satisfactory to some men; which seem to be enemies not to Me onely, but to all Monarchy; and are resolved to transmit to posterity, such Jealousies of the Crown, as they should never permit it to enjoy its just and necessary Rights, in point of power; to which (at last)

all

all Law is resolved, while thereby it is best protected.

But here Honour and Justice due to My Successors, forbid Me to yeeld to such a total alienation of that power from them, which civility and duty (no lesse then Justice and Honour) should have forbid them to have asked of Me.

For, although I cannot be content to eclypse My own beams, to satisfie their fears; who think they must needs be scorched or blinded, if I should shine in the full lustre of Kingly power, wherewith God and the Laws have invested Me: yet I will never consent to put out the Sun of Sovereignty to all posterity, and succeeding Kings: whose just recovery of their Rights from unjust usurpations and extortions, shall never be prejudiced or obstructed by any Act of Mine, which indeed will not be more injurious to succeeding Kings, then to My Subjects; whom I desire to leave in a condition not wholly desperate for the future; so as by a Law to be ever subject to those many factious distractions, which must needs follow the many headed *Hydra* of Government: which, as it makes a shew to the people to have more eyes to foresee, so they will finde it hath more mouthes too, which must be satisfied: and at best it hath rather a monstrosity, then any thing of perfection, beyond that of right Monarchy; where counsel may be in many as the Senses, but the supreme power can be but in One as the Head.

Happily where men have tried the horrors and malignant influence which will certainly follow My enforced darknesse and eclypse (occasioned by the interposition and shadow of that body, which as the Moon receiveth its chiefeest light from Me) they will at length more esteem and welcom the restored glory and blessing of the Suns light.

And if at present I may seem by My receding so much from the use of My right in the power of the *Militia*, to come short of the discharge of that trust

to which I am sworn for My peoples protection ; I conceive those men are guilty of the enforced perjury, (if so it may seem) who compel Me to take this new and strange way of discharging My trust, by seeming to desert it ; of protecting My Subjects, by exposing My Self to danger or dishonour, for their safety and quiet.

Which in the conflicts of Civil War, and advantages of power, cannot be effected but by some side yeelding ; to which the greatest love of the publick peace, and the firmest assurance of Gods protection (arising from a good Conscience) doth more invite Me, then can be expected from other mens fears ; which arising from the injustice of their actions (though never so successful) yet dare not adventure their Authors upon any other way of safety then that of the Sword and Militia ; which yet are but weak defences against the stroaks of Divine Vengeance, which will overtake ; or of mens own Consciences, which alwayes attend injurious perpetrations.

For My Self, I do not think that I can want any thing which providential necessity is pleased to take from Me, in order to My peoples tranquillity & Gods glory, whose protection is sufficient for Me ; and he is able, by his being with Me, abundantly to compensate to Me, as he did to *Job*, what ever honour, power, or liberty the Caldeans, the Sabeans, or the Devil himself can deprive Me of.

Although they take from Me all defence of Arms and Militia, all refuge by land, of Forts, and Castles, all flight by Sea in My Ships, and Navy ; yea, though they study to rob Me of the Hearts of My Subjects, the greatest Treasure and best ammunition of a King, yet cannot they deprive Me of My own innocency, or Gods mercy, nor obstruct My way to Heaven.

Therefore

Therefore, O my God, to thee I flie for help, if thou wilt be on my side, I shall have more with me then can be against me.

There is none in Heaven, or in Earth, that I desire in comparison of thee: In the losse of all, be thou more then all to me: Make haste to succour me, thou that never failest them that put their trust in thee.

Thou seest I have no power to oppose them that come against me, who are encouraged to fight under the pretence of fighting for me: But my eyes are toward thee.

Thou needest no help, nor shall I, if I may have thine; If not to conquer, yet at least to suffer.

If thou delightest not in my safety, and prosperity, behold here I am willing to be reduced to what thou wilt have me; whose judgements oft begin with thy own children.

I am content to be nothing, that thou mayest be all.

Thou hast taught me, That no King can be saved by the multitude of an Host; but yet thou canst save me by the multitude of thy mercies, who art the Lord of Hosts, and the Father of mercies.

Help me, O Lord, who am sore distressed on every side, yet be thou on my side, and I shall not fear what man can do unto me.

I will give thy Justice the glory of my distresse.

O let thy mercy have the glory of my deliverance from them that persecute my soul!

By my sins have I fought against thee, and robbed thee of thy glory, who art my subject, and justly mayest thou, by my own Subjects, strip me of my strength, and eclipse my glory.

But shew thy self, O my hope, and onely refuge! Let not mine enemies say, there is no help for him in his God.

Hold up my goings in thy paths, that my footsteps slip not.

Keep me as the apple of thine eye, hide me under the shadow of thy wings.

Shew thy marvellous loving kindenesse, O thou that savest by thy right hand them that put their trust in thee, from those that rise up against them.

From the wicked that oppresse me, from my deadly enemies that compass me about.

Shew me the path of life. In thy presence is fulnesse of joy, at thy right hand there are pleasures for evermore.

XI. Upon the Nineteen Propositions first sent to the King, and more afterwards.

ALthough there be many things they demand, yet if these be all, I am glad to see at what price they set my own safety, and My peoples peace; which I cannot think I buy at too dear a rate, save onely the parting with My Conscience and Honour. If nothing else will satisfie, I must choose rather to be as miserable, and inglorious, as My enemies can make or with Me.

Some things here propounded to Me have been offered by Me; Others are easily granted; The rest (I think) ought not to be obtruded upon Me, with the point of the Sword; nor urged with the injuries of a War; when I have already declared that I cannot yeeld to them, without violating My Conscience: 'tis strange, there can be no method of peace, but by making war upon My soul.

Here are many things required of Me, but I see nothing offer'd to Me, by the way of grateful exchange of Honour; or any requital for those favours, I have, or can yet grant them.

This Honour they do Me, to put Me on the giving part, which is more princely and divine. They cannot ask more then I can give, may I but reserve to My self the Incommunicable Jewel of My Conscience; and not be forced to part with that, whose losse nothing can repair or requite.

Some.

Some things (which they are pleased to propound) seem unreasonable to Me, and while I have any Mastery of My Reason, how can they think I can consent to them? Who know they are such as are inconsistent with being either a King, or a good Christian. My yeelding so much (as I have already) makes some men confident I will deny nothing.

The love I have of My peoples peace, hath (indeed) great influence upon Me; but the love of Truth and inward peace hath more.

Should I grant some things they require, I should not so much weaken My outward state of a King; as wound that inward quiet of My Conscience, which ought to be, is, and ever shall be (by Gods grace) dearer to Me then My Kingdoms.

Some things which a King might approve, yet in Honour and policy are at some time to be denied, to some men, lest he should seem not to dare to deny any thing; and give too much encouragement to unreasonable demands, or importunities.

But to binde My Self to a general and implicate consent, to what ever they shall desire, or propound, (for such is one of their Propositions) were such a latitude of blinde obedience, as never was expected from any Free-man, nor fit to be required of any man, much lesse of a King, by his own Subjects; any of whom he may possibly exceed as much in wisdom, as He doth in place and power.

This were, as if *Sampson* should have consented, not onely to binde his own hands, and cut off his hair, but to put out his own eyes, that the *Philistines* might with the more safety mock and abuse him; which they chose rather to do, then quite to destroy him, when he was become so tame an object, and fit occasion for their sport and scorn.

Certainly, to exclude all power of denial, seems an arrogancy, least of all becoming those who pretend to make their addresses in an humble and loyal way

of

of petitioning; who by that sufficiently confesse their own inferiority, which obligeth them to rest, if not satisfied, yet quieted with such an answer as the will and reason of their Superiour thinks fit to give; who is acknowledged to have a freedom and power of Reason, to consent or Dissent, else it were very foolish and absurd to ask, what another having not liberty to deny, neither hath power to grant.

But if this be My Right belonging to Me, in Reason as a Man, and in Honour as a Sovereign King, (as undoubtedly it doth) how can it be other then extreme injury to confine My Reason to a necessity of granting all they have a minde to ask, whose mindes may be as differing from Mine both in Reason and Honour, as their aims may be, and their qualities are? which last, God and the Laws have sufficiently distinguished, making Me their Sovereign, & them My Subjects: whose Propositions may soon prove violent Oppositions, if once they gain to be necessary Impositions upon the Regal Authority. Since no man seeks to limit and confine his King, in Reason, who hath not a secret aim to share with him, or usurpe upon him in Power and Dominion.

But they would have Me trust to their moderation, and abandon Mine own discretion; that so I might verifie what representations some have made of Me to the World, that I am fitter to be their Pupil then their Prince. Truly I am not so confident of My own sufficiency, as not willingly to admit the Counsel of others: But yet I am not so dissident of My Self, as brutishly to submit to any mens dictates, and at once to betray the Sovereignty of Reason in My Soul, and the Majesty of My own Crown to any of my Subjects.

Least of all have I any ground of credulity, to induce Me fully to submit to all the desires of those men, who will not admit, or do refuse and neglect to vindicate

vindicate the freedom of their own and others, sitting and voting in Parliament.

Besides, all men that know them, know this, how young States-men (the most part) of these propounders are; so that, till experience of one seven years hath shewed Me, how well they can govern themselves, and so much power as is wrested from me, I should be very foolish indeed, and unfaithful in my trust, to put the reins of both Reason and Government, wholly out of my own into their hands, whose driving is already too much like *Jehu's*; and whose forwardness to ascend the throne of Supremacy pretends more of *Phaeton* than of *Phebus*; God divert the Omen, if it be his will.

They may remember that at best they sit in Parliament, as My Subjects, not My Superiours; called to be My Counsellours, not Dictators: Their Summons extends to recommend their Advice, not to command My Duty.

When I first heard of Propositions to be sent Me, I expected either some good Laws, which had been antiquated by the course of time, or overlaid by the corruption of maners, had been desired to a restoration of their vigour and due execution; or some evil customes preterlegal, and abuses personal had been to be removed: or some injuries done by my self, and others, to the Common-weal, were to be repaired: or some equable offertures were to be tendered to Me, wherein the advantages of My Crown being considered by them, might fairly induce Me to condescend to what tended to My Subjects good, without any great diminution of My Self, whom Nature, Law, Reason, and Religion binde Me (in the first place) to preserve: without which tis impossible to preserve My people according to My place.

Or (at least) I looked for such moderate desires of due Reformation of what was (indeed) amisse in Church.

Church and State, as might still preserve the foundation and essentials of Government in both; not shake and quite overthrow either of them, without any regard to the Laws in force, the wisdom and piety of former Parliaments, the ancient and universal practice of Christian Churches; the Rights and privileges of particular men: Nor yet any thing offered in lieu, or in the room of what must be destroyed, which might at once reach the good end of the others Institution, and also supply its pretended defects, reform its abuses, and satisfy sober and wise men, not with soft and specious words, pretending zeal and special piety, but with pregnant and solid reasons, both divine and humane, which might justify the abruptness and necessity of such vast alterations.

But in all their propositions I can observe little of these kinds, or to these ends: Nothing of any Laws disjoyned, which are to be restored; of any Right invaded, of any Justice to be unobstructed; of any Compensations to be made, of any impartial Reformation to be granted: To all, or any of which, Reason, Religion, true policy, or any other humane motives, might induce Me.

But as to the main matters propounded by them at any time, in which is either great Novelty, or Difficulty; I perceive that what were formerly looked upon as Factions in the State, and Schisms in the Church, and so punishable by the Laws; have now the confidence, by vulgar clamours and assistance (chiefly) to demand not onely Tolerations of themselves, in their vanity, novelty, and confusion; but also abolition of the Laws against them: and a total extirpation of that Government, whose Rights they have a minde to invade.

This, as to the main; other propositions are (for the most part) but as waste paper, in which those are wrapped up, to present them somewhat more handsomely.

Nor do I so much wonder at the variety and horrible novelty of some propositions (there being nothing so monstrous, which some fancies are not prone to long for.)

This casts Me into, not an Admiration, but an Extasie, how such things should have the fortune to be propounded in the Name of the two Houses of the Parliament of *England* : Among whom, I am very confident, there was not a fourth part of the Members of either House, whose judgements free, single, and apart, did approve or desire such destructive changes in the Government of the Church.

I am perswaded there remains in far the *major* part of both Houses (if free, and full) so much Learning, Reason, Religion, and just moderation, as to know how to sever between the use and the abuse of things; the institution, and the corruption, the Government, and the mis-Government, the Primitive paterns, and the aberrations or blottings of after Copies.

Sure they could not all, upon so little, or no Reason (as yet produced to the contrary) so soon renounce all regard to the Laws in force, to Antiquity, to the piety of their Reforming Progenitors, to the prosperity of former times in this Church and State, under the present Government of the Church.

Yet, by a strange fatality, these men suffer, either by their absence, or silence, or negligence, or supine credulity (believing that all is good, which is gilded with shews of Zeal and Reformation) their private dissenting in Judgement, to be drawn into the common sewer or stream of the present vogue and humour; which hath its chief rise and abetment from those popular Clamours and Tumults: which served to give life and strength to the infinite activity of those men, who studied with all diligence and policy, to improve their Innovating designs, the present distractions.

Such Armies of propositions having so little, in
My

My judgement of Reason, Justice, and Religion on their side, as they had Tumult and Faction for their rise, must not go alone, but ever be backt and seconded with Armies of Souldiers; Though the second should prevail against My person, yet the first shall never overcome Me, further then I see cause; for, I look not at their number and power so much, as I weigh their Reason, and Justice.

Had the two Houses first sued out their Livery, and once effectually redeemed themselves from the Wardship of the Tumults, (which can be no other, then the Hounds that attend the cry and hollow of those men, who hunt after factious and private Designs, to the ruine of Church and State.)

Did My judgement tell Me, That the Propositions sent to Me were the Results of the major part of their Votes, who exercise their freedom, as well as they have a right to sit in Parliament: I should then suspect My own judgement, for not speedily and fully concurring with every one of them.

For, I have Charity enough to think, there are wise men among them; and Humility to think, that, as in some things I may want; so tis fit I should use their Advice, which is the end for which I called them to a Parliament. But yet I cannot allow their wisdom such a compleatnesse and inerrability, as to exclude My Self; since none of them hath that part to Act, that trust to discharge, nor that estate and honour to preserve, as My Self; without whose Reason concurrent with theirs (as the Suns influence is necessary in all Natures productions) they cannot beget, or bring forth any one compleat and authoritative Act of publick wisdom, which makes the Laws.

But the unreasonablenesse of some Propositions is not more evident to Me then this is, That they are not the joynt and free desires of those in their major number, who are of right to sit and Vote in Parliament.

For, many of them favour very strong of that old leaven of Innovations, masked under the name of Reformation; (which in My two last famous Predecessours dayes, heaved at, and sometime threatned both Prince and Parliaments :) But, I am sure was never wont so far to infect the whole Masse of the Nobility and Gentry of this Kingdom; however it dispersed among the Vulgar: Nor was it likely so suddenly to taint the major part of both Houses, as that they should unanimously desire, and affect so enormous and dangerous Innovations in Church and State, contrary to their former education, practice and judgement.

Not that I am ignorant, how the choice of many Members was carried by much faction in the Countreys; some thirsting after nothing more, then a passionate revenge of what ever displeasure they had conceived against Mee, My Court, or the Clergy.

But all Reason bids Me impute these sudden and vast desires of change to those few, who armed themselves with the many headed, and many-handed Tumults.

No lesse doth Reason, Honour, and Safety both of Church and State command Me, to chew such morsels before I let them down: If the straitnesse of My Conscience will not give Me leave to swallow down such Camels as others do of Sacriledge and Injustice both to God and Man, they have no more cause to quarrel with Me, then for this, That My throat is not so wide as theirs. Yet by Gods help I am resolved, That nothing of passion, or peevishnesse, or list to contradict, or vanity to shew my Negative power, shall have any byasse upon My judgement, to make Me gratifie My will, by denying any thing which my Reason and Conscience commands me not.

Nor on the other side, will I consent to more
then

then Reason, Justice, Honour, and Religion perswade Me, to be for Gods glory, the Churches good, My peoples welfare, and My own peace.

I will study to satisfie My Parliament, and My People; but I will never for fear or flattery, gratifie any Faction, how potent soever? for this were to nourish the disease, and oppresse the body.

Although many mens loyalty and prudence are terrified from giving Me, that free, and faithful counsel, which they are able and willing to impart, and I may want; yet none can hinder Me from craving of the counsel of that mighty Counsellour, who can both suggest what is best, and incline My heart steadfastly to follow it.

O thou first and eternal Reason, whose wisdom is fortified with omnipotency, furnish thy servant first with clear discoveries of Truth, Reason, and Justice, in my understanding: then so confirm my will and resolution to adhere to them, that no terrours, injuries, or oppressions of my enemies may ever inforce me against those rules, which thou by them hast planted in my conscience.

Thou never madest me a King, that I should be lesse then a man; and not dare to say, Yea, or Nay, as I see cause; which freedom is not denied to the meanest creatures, that hath the use of Reason, and liberty of speech.

Shall that be blameable in me, which is commendable veracity and constancy in others?

Thou seest, O Lord, with what partiality, and injustice, they deny that freedom to me their KING, which thou hast given to all men; and which themselves pertinaciously challenge to themselves; while they are so tender of the least breach of their priviledges.

To thee I make my supplication, who canst guide us by an unerring rule, through thy perplexed Labyrinths of our own thoughts, and other mens proposals; which, I have some cause to suspect, are purposely cast as snares, that by my granting or denying them, I might be more entangled in
those

those difficulties, wherewith they lye in wait to afflict me.
O Lord, make thy way plain before me.

Let not my own sinful passions cloud or divert thy sacred suggestions.

Let thy glory be my end, thy word my rule, and then thy will be done.

I cannot please all, I care not to please some men; If I may be happy to please thee, I need not fear whom I displease.

Thou that makest the wisdom of the world foolishnesse, and takest in their own devices, such as are wise in their own conceits; make me wise by thy Truth, for thy honour, my Kingdoms general good, and my souls salvation, and I shall not much regard the worlds opinion, or diminution of me.

The lesse wisdom they are willing to impute to me, the more they shall be convinced of thy wisdom directing me, while I deny nothing fit to be granted, out of crossnesse, or humour; nor grant any thing which is to be denied, out of any fear, or flattery of men.

Suffer me not to be guilty, or unhappy, by willing or inconsiderate advancing any mens designs, which are injurious to the publick good, while I confirm them by my consent.

Nor let me be any occasion to hinder or defraud the publick of what is best, by any morose or perverse dissentings.

Make me so humbly charitable, as to follow their advice, when it appears to be for the publick good, of whose affection to me, I have yet but few evidences to assure me.

Thou canst as well blesse honest errors, as blast fraudulent counsels.

Since we must give an account of every evil and idle word in private, at thy Tribunal; Lord make me careful of these solemn Declarations of my minde which are like to have the greatest influence upon the publick, either for woe, or weal.

The lesse others consider what they ask, make me the more solicitous what I answer.

Though

Though mine own, and my peoples pressures are grievous, and peace would be very pleasing; yet Lord never suffer me to avoid the one, or purchase the other, with the least expence or waste of my conscience; whereof thou, O Lord, onely art deservedly more master then my self.

XII. *Upon the Rebellion and troubles in Ireland.*

THe Commotions in *Ireland* were so sudden, and so violent, that it was hard at first either to discern the rise, or apply a remedy to that precipitant Rebellion.

Indeed, that sea of blood, which hath there been cruelly and barbarously shed, is enough to drown any man in eternal both infamy and misery, whom God shall finde the malicious Author or Instigator of its effusion.

It fell out as a most unhappy advantage to some mens malice against Me; that when they had impudence enough to lay any thing to My charge, this bloody opportunity should be offered them, with which I must be aspersed. Although there was nothing which could be more abhorred to Me, being so full of sin against God, disloyalty to My self, and destructive to My Subjects.

Some men took it very ill not to be believed, when they affirmed, That what the Irish Rebels did, was done with My privity (at least) if not by My Commission: But these knew too well, That it is no news for some of My Subjects to fight, not onely without My Commission, but against My command; and person too; yet all the while to pretend, they fight by My Authority, and for My Safety.

I would to God the *Irish* had nothing to alledge for their imitation against those, whose blame must needs be the greater, by how much Protestant Principles
are

are more against all Rebellion against Princes, then those of Papists. Nor will the goodnesse of mens intentions excuse the scandal, and contagion of their Examples.

But whoever fail of their duty toward Me, I must bear the blame; this honour My Enemies have alwayes done Me, to think moderate injuries not proportionate to Me, nor competent tryals, either of My patience under them, or My pardon of them.

Therefore with exquisite malice they have mixed the gall and vinegar of falsity and contempt, with the cup of My affliction; Charging Me not onely with untruths, but such as wherein I have the greatest share of losse & dishonour by what is committed; whereby (in all Policy, Reason, and Religion, having least cause to give the least consent, and most grounds of utter detestation) I might be represented by them to the Word, the more inhumane and barbarous: Like some Cyclopick Monster, whom nothing will serve to eat, and drink, but the flesh & blood of My own Subjects, in whose common welfare my interest lyes, as much as some mens doth in their perturbations; who think they cannot do well but in evil times, nor so cunningly, as in laying the *odium* of those sad events on others, wherewith themselves are most pleased, and whereof they have been not the least occasion.

And certainly, 'tis thought by many wise men, That the preposterous rigour, and unreasonable severity which some men carried before them in *England*, was not the least incentive, that kindled and blew up into those horrid flames, the sparks of discontent, which wanted not predisposed fewel for Rebellion in *Ireland*; where despair being added to their former discontents, and the fears of utter extirpation to their wonted oppressions, it was easie to provoke to an open Rebellion, a people prone enough to break out to all exorbitant violence, both by some principles of their Religion, and the natural desires

desires of liberty; both to exempt themselves from their present restraints, and to prevent those after rigours, wherewith they saw themselves apparently threatened by the covetous zeal, and uncharitable fury of some men, who think it a great Argument of the truth of their Religion, to endure no other but their own.

God knows, as I can with Truth wash my hands in Innocency, as to any guilt in that Rebellion; so I might wash them in My Tears, as to the sad apprehensions I had to see it spread so far, and make such waste. And this in a time, when distractions and jealousies here in *England*, made most men rather intent to their own safety, or designs they were driving, then to the relief of those, who were every day inhumanely butchered in *Ireland*: Whose Tears and Blood might, if nothing else, have quenched, or at least for a time repressed and smothered those sparks of Civil Dissentions and Jealousies, which in *England* some men most industriously scattered.

I would to God no man had been affected with *Ireland's* sad estate, then My self: I offered to go my self in Person upon that expedition; But some men were either afraid I should have any one Kingdom quieted; or loath they were to shoot at any mark here, lesse then My self; or that any should have the glory of My destruction, but themselves. Had My many offers been accepted, I am confident, neither the Ruine had been so great, nor the Calamity so long, nor the Remedy so desperate.

So that, next to the sin of those that began that Rebellion theirs must needs be; who either hindered the speedy suppressing of it by Domestick Dissentions, or diverted the Ayds, or exasperated the Rebels to the most desperate resolutions and actions, by threatening all Extremities, not onely to the known Heads, and chief Incendiaries, but even to the whole community of that Nation; Resolving to destroy
Root

Root and Branch, men, women and children; without any regard to those usual pleas for Mercy, which Conquerours, not wholly barbarous, are wont to hear from their own breasts, in behalf of those, whose oppressive faces, rather than their malice, engaged them; or whose imbecility for Sex and Age was such, as they could neither lift up a hand against them, or distinguish between their right hand and their left: Which preposterous and (I think) unevangelical zeal, is too like that of the rebuked Disciples, who would go no lower in their Revenge, then to call down fire from Heaven upon whole Cities for the repulse or neglect of a few; or like that of *Jacobs* sons, which the Father both blamed and cursed: choosing rather to use all extremities, which might drive men to desperate obstinacy, then to apply moderate remedies, such as might punish some with exemplary Justice, yet disarm others with tenders of Mercy upon the submission, and our protection of them from the fury of those, who would soon drown them, if they refused to swim down the popular stream with them.

But some kinde of zeal counts all merciful moderation, luke-warmnesse; and had rather be cruel then accounted cold, and is not seldome more greedy to kill the Bear for his skin, then for any harm he hath done. The confiscation of mens estates being more beneficial, then the charity of saving their lives, or reforming their Errours.

When all proportionable succours of the poor Protestants in *Ireland* (who were daily massacred, and overborn with numbers of now desperate Enemies) was diverted and obstructed here; I was earnestly entreated, and generally advised by the chief of the Protestant party there, to get them some respite and breathing by a cessation, without which they saw no probability (unlesse by miracle) to preserve the remnant that had yet escaped: God knows with how much

much commiseration and solicitous caution I carried on that businesse, by persons of Honour and Integrity, that so I might neither encourage the Rebels Insolence, nor discourage the Protestants Loyalty and patience.

Yet when this was effected in the best sort, that the necessity and difficulty of affairs would then permit, I was then to suffer again in My reputation and Honour, because I suffered not the Rebels utterly to devour the remaining handfals of the Protestants there.

I thought, that in all reason, the gaining of that respite could not be so much to the Rebels advantages (which some have highly calumniated against Me) as it might have been for the Protestants future, as well as present safety; If during the time of that Cessation, some men had had the grace to have laid *Ireland's* sad condition more to heart; and laid aside those violent motions, which were here carried on by those, that had better skill to let blood, then to stench it.

But in all the misconstructions of My actions, (which are prone to finde more credulity in men to what is false and evil, then love or charity to what is true and good) as I have no Judge but God above Me, so I can have comfort to appeal to his omniscience, who doth not therefore deny My Innocence, because he is pleased so far to try My patience, as he did his servant *Jobs*.

I have enough to do, to look to My own Conscience, and the faithfull discharge of My Trust as a KING; I have scarce leisure to consider those swarms of reproaches, which issue out of some mens mouthes and hearts, as easily as smoak, or sparks do out of a fornace; much lesse to make such prolix Apologies, as might give those men satisfaction: who conscious to their own depth of wickednesse, are loath to believe any man not to be as bad as themselves.

'Tis

'Tis Kingly to do well, and hear ill: If I can but act the one, I shall not much regard to bear the other.

I thank God, I can hear with patience, as bad as My worst Enemies can falsely say. And I hope I shall still do better then they desire, or deserve I should.

I believe it wil at least appear, that they who first began to embroyl My other Kingdoms, are in great part guilty, if not of the first letting out, yet of the not timely stopping those horrid effusions of blood in Ireland.

Which (whatever My Enemies please to say or think) I look upon, as that of My other Kingdoms exhausted out of My own veins; no man being so much weakned by it, as My self: And I hope, though mens unsatiable cruelties never will, yet the mercy of God will at length say to his justice, *It is enough*; and command the Sword of Civil Wars to sheath it self: his merciful Justice intending, I trust, not our utter confusion, but our cure; the abatement of our sins, not the desolating of these Nations.

O my God, let those infinite mercies prevent us once again, which I and my Kingdoms have formerly abused, and can never deserve should be restored.

Thou seest how much cruelty among Christians is acted under the colour of Religion; as if we could not be Christians, unlesse we crucifie one another.

Because we have not more loved thy Truth, and practised in Charity, thou hast suffered a spirit of error and bitterness, of mutual and mortal hatred to arise among us.

O Lord, forgive wherein we have sinned, and sanctifie what we have suffered.

Let our repentance be our recovery, as our great sinnes have been our ruine.

Let not the miseries I and my Kingdoms have hitherto suffered, seem small to thee: but make our sins appear to our consciences, as they are represented in the glasse of thy judgements; for thou never punishest smal failings with so severe afflictions.

O therefore, according to the multitude of thy great mercies, pardon our sins, and remove thy judgements which are very many, and very heavy.

Yet let our sins be ever more grievous to us, then thy judgements; and make us more willing to repent, then to be relieved; first give us the peace of penitent consciences, and then the tranquility of united Kingdoms.

In the sea of our Saviours blood drown our sins, and through this red sea of our own blood bring us at last to a state of piety, peace, and plenty.

As my publick relations to all, make me share in all my Subjects sufferings; so give me such a pious sense of them, as becomes a Christian King, and a loving Father of my people.

Let the scandalous and unjust reproaches cast upon me, be as a breath, more to kindle my compassion; Give me grace to heap charitable coals of fire upon their heads to melt them, whose malice or cruel zeal hath kindled, or hindered the quenching of those flames, which have so much wasted my three Kingdoms.

O rescue and assist those poor Protestants in Ireland, whom thou hast hitherto preserved.

And lead those in the wayes of thy saving truths, whose ignorance or errours have filled them with rebellious and destructive principles, which they act, under an opinion, that they do thee good service.

Let the hand of thy justice be against those, who maliciously and despitefully have raised, or fomented those cruel and desperate Wars.

Thou that art far from destroying the innocent with the guilty, and the erroneous with the malicious; Thou that hadst pity on Niniveh for the many children that were therein, give not over the whole stock of that populous and seduced Nation, to the wrath of those, whose covetousnesse makes them cruel; not to their anger which is too fierce, and therefore justly cursed.

Preserve, if it be thy will, in the midst of the furnace of thy severe justice, a posterity, which may praise thee for thy mercy.

And

And deal with me, not according to mans unjust reproaches, but according to the innocency of my hands in thy sight.

If I have desired, or delighted in the woful day of my Kingdoms calamities ; if I have not earnestly studied, and faithfully endeavoured the preventing and composing of these bloody distractions ; Then let thy hand be against me, and my Fathers house. O Lord, thou seest I have enemies enough of men ; as I need not, so I should not dare thus to imprecate thy curse on me and mine, if my conscience did not witnesse my integrity, which thou O Lord knowest right well : but I trust not to my own merit, but thy mercies ; spare us, O Lord, and be not angry with us for ever.

XIII. Upon the Calling in of the Scots, and their coming.

THe Scots are a Nation, upon whom I have not onely common ties of Nature, Sovereignty, and Bounty, with My Father of blessed memory ; but also special and late obligations of favours, having gratified the active Spirits among them so far, that I seemed to many, to prefer the desires of that party, before My own Interest and Honour. But, I see, Royal bounty emboldens some men to ask, and act beyond the bounds of modesty and gratitude.

My charity, and Act of Pacification, forbids Me to reflect on former passages ; wherein I shall ever be far from letting any mans ingratitude, or inconstancy, make Me repent of what I granted them, for the publick good : I pray God it may so prove.

The coming again of that party into *England*, with an Army, onely to conform this Church to their late New Model, cannot but seem as unreasonable, as they would have thought the same measure offered from hence to themselves.

Other errand I could never understand they had, (besides those common and vulgar flourishes for Religion and Liberty) save onely to confirm the Presbyterian copy they had set, by making this Church to write after them, though it were in bloody Characters.

Which designe and end, whether it will justifie the use of such violent means, before the Divine Justice; I leave to their Consciences to judge, who have already felt the misery of the means, but not reaped the benefit of the end, either in this Kingdom, or that.

Such knots and crosnesse of grain being objected here, as will hardly suffer that Form which they cry up, as the onely just Reformation, and setting of Government and Discipline in Churches, to go on so smoothly here, as it might do in *Scotland*; and was by them imagined would have done in *England*, when so many of the English Clergy, through levity, or discontent, if no worse passion, suddenly quitted their former engagements to Episcopacy, and faced about to their Presbytery.

It cannot but seem either passion, or some self-seeking, more then true Zeal, and pious Discretion, for any forraign State or Church to prescribe such medicines onely for others, which themselves have used, rather successfullly then commendably; not considering that the same Physick on different constitutions, will have different operations; That they may kill one, which doth but cure another.

Nor do I know any such tough and malignant humors in the constitution of the *English* Church, which gentler applications then those of an Army, might not easily have removed: Nor is it so proper to hew out religious Reformations by the Sword, as to polish them by fair and equal disputations among those that are most concerned in the differences, whom not Force, but Reason ought to convince.

But

But their designe now, seemed rather to cut off all disputation here, then to procure a fair and equal one: For, it was concluded there, that the *English* Clergy must conform to the *Scots* pattern, before ever they could be heard what they could say for themselves, or against the others way.

I could have wished fairer proceedings, both for their credits, who urge things with such violence; and for other mens Consciences too, who can receive little satisfaction in these points, which are maintained rather by Souldiers fighting in the Field, then Scholars disputing in free and learned Schools.

Sure, in matters of Religion, those Truths gain most on mens Judgements and Consciences, which are least urged with secular violence, which weakens Truth with prejudices; and is unreasonable to be used, till such means of rational conviction hath been applied, as leaving no excuse for ignorance, condemns mens obstinacy to deserved penalties.

Which no charity will easily suspect of so many learned and pious Churchmen in *England*, who being alwayes bred up, and conformable to the Government of Episcopacy, cannot so soon renounce both their former opinion and practice, onely because that party of the *Scots* will needs by Force assist a like party here, either to drive all Ministers, as sheep, into the common fold of Presbytery, or destroy them, at least fleece them, by depriving them of the benefit of their flocks. If the *Scotch* sole Presbytery were proved to be the onely institution of Jesus Christ, for all Churches Government; yet I believe it would be hard to prove, that Christ had given those *Scots*, or any other of My Subjects, Commission by the Sword to set it up in any of My Kingdoms, without My consent.

What respect and obedience Christ and his Apostles pay'd to the chief Governours of States, where they

they lived, is very clear in the Gospel; but that He or they ever commanded to set up such a parity of Presbyters, and in such a way as those *Scots* endeavour, I think is not very disputable.

If Presbytery, in such a supremacy, be an institution of Christ; sure it differs from all others, and is the first and onely point of Christianity, that was to be planted and watered with so much Christian blood; whose effusions run in a stream, so contrary to that of the Primitive planters, both of Christianity and Episcopacy, which was with patient shedding of their own blood, not violent drawing other mens: sure there is too much of man in it, to have much of Christ, none of whose institutions were carried on, or begun with the temptations of covetousnesse or ambition, of both which this is vehemently suspected.

Yet was there never any thing upon the point, which those *Scots* had by Army or Commissioners to move Me with, by their many solemn obtestations, and pious threatnings, but onely this, To represent to Me, the wonderful necessity of setting up their Presbytery in *England*, to avoid the further miseries of a War; which some men chiefly on this designe at first had begun, and now further engaged themselves to continue.

What hinders, that any Sects, Schisms, or Heresies, if they can get but numbers, strength and opportunity, may not, according to this opinion and pattern, set up their wayes by the like methods of violence? All which Presbytery seeks to suppress, and render odious under those Names; when Wise and Learned men think, That nothing hath more marks of Schism and Sectarism, then this Presbyterian way, both as to the ancient, and still most universal way of the Church-Government, and specially as to the particular Laws and Constitutions of this *English* Church; which are not yet repealed, nor are like to be for Me, till I see more rational and Religious motives, then

then Souldiers use to carry in their Knapfacks.

But we must leave the successe of all to God, who hath many wayes (having first taken us off from the folly of our opinions, and fury of our passion) to teach us those Rules of true Reason, and peaceable Wisdom, which is from above, tending most to Gods glory, and his Churches good; which I think My Self so much the more bound in Conscience to attend, with the most judicious zeal and care, by how much I esteem the Church above the State, the glory of Christ above mine own, and the salvation of mens Souls, above the preservation of their Bodies and Estates.

Nor may any men, I think, without sin and presumption, forcibly endeavour to cast the Churches under My care and tuition, into the moulds they have fancied, and fashioned to their designs, till they have first gained My consent, and resolved both My own and other mens Consciences by the strength of their Reasons.

Other violent motions, which are neither Manly, Christian, nor Loyal, shall never either shake or settle My Religion, nor any mans else, who knows what Religion means: And how far it is removed from all Faction, whose proper engine is Force; the Arbitrator of Beasts, not of reasonable Men, much lesse of humble Christians, and loyal Subjects, in matters of Religion.

But men are prone to have such high conceits of themselves, that they care not what cost they lay out upon their opinions; especially those, that have some temptation of gain to recompence their losses and hazards.

Yet I was not more scandalized at the Scots Armies coming in against My will, and their forfeiture of so many Obligations of duty and gratitude to Me, then I wondred, how those here could so much distrust Gods assistance; who so much pretended Gods cause

cause to the people, as if they had the certainty of some Divine Revelation: considering they were more then competently furnished with My Subjects Arms and Ammunition; My Navy by Sea, My Forts, Castles, and Cities by Land.

But I finde, that men jealous of the justifiableness of their doings and designs before God, never think they have humane strength enough to carry their work on, seem it never so plausible to the people: What cannot be justified in Law or Religion, had need be fortified with power.

And yet such is the inconstancy that attends all mindes engaged in violent motion, that whom some of them one while earnestly invite to come in to their Assistance, others of them soon after are weary of, and with nauseating cast them out: what one party thought to rivet to a settledness by the strength and influence of the *Scots*, that the other rejects and contemns; at once, despising the Kirk-Government, and Discipline of the *Scots*, and frustrating the success of so chargeable, more then charitable assistance: For, sure the Church of *England* might have purchased, at a far cheaper rate, the Truth and Happiness of Reformed Government and Discipline (if it had been wanting) though it had entertained the best Divines of Christendom, for their Advice in a full and free Synod: which I was ever willing to, and desirous of, that matters being impartially settled, might be more satisfactory to all, and more durable.

But much of Gods Justice, and Mans Folly, will at length be discovered, through all the films and pretensions of Religion, in which Politicians wrap up their designs: In vain do men hope to build their Piety on the ruines of Loyalty. Nor can those considerations or designs be durable, when Subjects make Bankrupt of their Allegiance, under pretence of setting up a quicker trade for Religion.

But

But, as My best Subjects of Scotland never deserted Me; so, I cannot think that the most are gone so far from Me, in a prodigality of their love and respects toward Me, as to make Me to despair of their return; when besides the bonds of Nature and Conscience, which they have to Me, all Reason and true Policy will teach them, that their chiefest interest consists in their fidelity to the Crown, not in their serviceableness to any party of the people, to a neglect and betraying of My Safety and Honour for their own advantages: However, the lesse cause I have to trust to men, the more I shall apply My Self to GOD.

The troubles of my Soul are enlarged, O Lord, bring thou me out of my distresse.

Lord, direct thy servant in the wayes of that pious simplicity, which is the best policy.

Deliver me from the combined strength of those, who have so much of the Serpents subtilty, that they forget the Doves innocency.

Though hand joyn in hand, yet let them not prevail against my soul, to the betraying of my Conscience and Honour.

Thou, O Lord, canst turn the hearts of those parties in both Nations, as thou didst the men of Judah and Israel, to restore David with as much loyal zeal, as they did with inconstancy and eagernessee pursue him.

Preserve the love of thy Truth and Vprightnessee in me, and I shall not despair of my Subjects affections returning towards me.

Thou canst soon cause the overflowing Seas to ebbe, and retire back again to the bounds which thou hast appointed for them.

O my God, I trust in thee: let me not be ashamed; let not my enemies triumph over me.

Let them be ashamed who transgressee without a cause: let them be turned back that persecute my Soul.

Let integrity and uprightnesse preserve me, for I wait on thee, O Lord.

Redeem thy Church, O God, out of all its Troubles.

XIV. Upon the Covenant.

THe Presbyterian Scots are not to be hired at the ordinary rate of Auxiliaries; nothing will induce them to engage, till those that call them in, have pawned their Souls to them by a solemn League and Covenant.

Where many engines of religious and fair pretensions are brought, chiefly to batter or rase Episcopacy; This they make the grand evil Spirit, which, with some other Imps purposely added, to make it more odious and terrible to the Vulgar, must by so solemn a Charm and Exorcism be cast out of this Church, after more then a thousand years possession here, from the first plantation of Christianity in this Island, and an universal prescription of time and practice in all other Churches since the Apostles times, till this last Century.

But no Antiquity must plead for it, Presbytery, like a yong Heir, thinks the Father, hath lived long enough; and impatient not to be in the Bishops Chair and Authority (though Lay-men go away with the Revenues) all Art is used to sink Episcopacy, and lanch Presbytery into *England*, which was lately boyed up in *Scotland* by the like artifice of a Covenant.

Although I am unsatisfied with many passages in that Covenant (some referring to My self with very dubious and dangerous limitations) yet I chiefly wonder at the designe and drift touching the Discipline and Government of the Church; and such a manner of carrying them on to new wayes, by Oaths and Covenants, where it is hard for men to be engaged.

ged by no lesse, then swearing for, or against those things, which are of no clear Moral necessity, but very disputable, and controverted among learned and godly men: whereto the application of Oathes can hardly be made and enjoyned with that judgement and certainty in ones self, and that charity and candor to others of different opinion, as I think Religion requires: which never refuses fair and equable deliberations; yea, and dissentings too, in matters onely probable.

The enjoyning of Oathes upon people, must needs in things doubtful, be dangerous, as in things unlawful, damnable; and no lesse superfluous, where former religions and legal Engagements, bound men sufficiently, to all necessary duties. Nor can I see how they will reconcile such an Innovating Oath and Covenant, with that former Protestation which was so lately taken, To maintain the Religion established in the Church of England: since they count discipline so great a part of Religion.

But ambitious mindes never think they have laid snares and gins enough to catch and hold the Vulgar credulity: for by such politick and seemingly pious stratagems, they think to keep the popularity fast to their parties, under the terror of perjury: Whereas certainly all honest and wise men ever thought themselves sufficiently bound by former ties of Religion, Allegiance, and Laws to God and Man.

Nor can such after-Contracts, devised and imposed by a few men in a declared party, without My consent, and without any like power or president from God or Mans Laws, be ever thought, by judicious men, sufficient, either to absolve or slacken those Moral and Eternal bonds of duty, which lie upon all My Subjects consciences, both to God and Me.

Yet as things now stand, good men shall least offend God or me, by keeping their Covenant in honest and lawfull wayes; since I have the charity to
think,

think, That the chief end of the Covenant, in such mens intentions, was, to preserve Religion in purity, and the Kingdoms in peace : To other then such ends and means, they cannot think themselves engaged ; nor will those that have any true touches of Conscience, endeavour to carry on the best designs, (much lesse such as are, and will be daily more apparently factious and ambitious) by any unlawfull means, under that Title of the *Covenant* : unlesse they dare prefer ambiguous, dangerous, and unauthorized Novelties, before their known and sworn Duties, which are indispenfable, both to God and My Self.

I am prone to believe, and hope, That many who took the Covenant, are yet firm to this judgement, That such latter Vows, Oathes, or Leagues, can never blot out those former gravings and characters, which by just and lawful Oathes were made upon their Souls.

That which makes such Confederations by way of Solemn Leagues and Covenants more to be suspected, is, That they are the common road, used in all factious and powerful perturbations of State or Church: When formalities of extraordinary Zeal and Piety, are never more studied and elaborate, then when Politicians most agitate desperate designs against all that is settled, or sacred in Religion and Laws ; which by such screws are cunningly, yet forcibly wrested by secret steps, and lesse sensible degrees, from their known Rule and wonted practice, to comply with the humours of those men, who aym to subdue all to their own will and power, under the disguises of Holy Combinations.

Which cords and wythes will hold mens Consciences no longer, then Force attends and twists them : For every man soon grows his own Pope, and easily absolves himself of those ties, which, not the commands of Gods Word, or the Laws of the Land, but
only

onely the subtilty and terrour of a party cast upon him; either superfluous, and vain, when they were sufficiently tyed before; or fraudulent and injurious, if by such after-ligaments, they finde the Imposers really ayming to dissolve, or suspend their former, just, and necessary obligations.

Indeed, such illegal wayes seldom or never intend the engaging men more to duties, but onely to parties; therefore it is not regarded how they keep their Covenants in point of piety pretended, provided they adhere firmly to the party and designe intended.

I see the Imposers of it are content to make their Covenant like Manna (not that it came from Heaven, as this did) agreeable to every mans palate and relish, who will but swallow it: They admit any mens senses of it, the diverse or contrary; with any Salvo's, Cautions, and Reservations, so as they cross not the chief Design, which is laid against the Church and Me.

It is enough, if they get but the reputation of a seeming increase to their party; So little do men remember that God is not mocked.

In such latitudes of sense, I believe many that love Me and the Church well, may have taken the Covenant, who yet are not so fondly and superstitiously taken by it, as now to act clearly against both all piety and loyalty: who first yielded to it, more to prevent that imminent violence and ruine, which hung over their heads, in case they wholly refused it, then for any value of it, or devotion to it.

Wherein the latitude of some general clauses may (perhaps) serve somewhat to relieve them, as of *Doing and endeavouring what lawfully they may*, in *their places and callings*, and *according to the Word of God*: For, these (indeed) carry no man beyond those bounds of good Conscience, which are certain and fixed either in Gods Laws, as to the general; or the Laws of the State and Kingdom, as to the particular.

ricular regulation and exercise of mens duties.

I would to God such as glory most in the name of *Covenanters*, would keep themselves within their lawful bounds, to which God hath called them: Surely it were the best way to expiate the rashnesse of taking it: which must needs then appear, when besides the want of a full and lawful Authority at first to enjoin it, it shall actually be carried on beyond, and against those ends which were in it specified and pretended. I willingly forgive such mens taking the Covenant, who keep it within such bounds of piety, Law, and Loyalty, as can never hurt either the Church, My Self, or the publick Peace: Against which, no mans lawful Calling can engage him.

As for that Reformation of the Church, which the Covenant pretends, I cannot think it just or comely, that by the partial advice of a few Divines, (of so soft and servile tempers, as disposed them to so sudden acting and compliance, contrary to their former Judgements, profession, and practice) such foul scandals and suspicions should be cast upon the Doctrine and Government of the Church of *England*, as was never done (that I have heard) by any that deserved the name of *Reformed Churches*, abroad, nor by any men of learning and candor, at home: all whose judgements I cannot but prefer before any mens, now factionously engaged.

No man can be more forward then My self, to carry on all due Reformations, with mature judgement, and a good Conscience, in what things I shall (after impartial advice) be, by Gods Word, and right Reason, convinced to be amisse: I have offered more then ever the fullest, freest, & wisest Parliaments did desire.

But the sequel of some mens actions makes it evident, That the main Reformation intended, is, The abusing of Episcopacy into Presbytery, and the robbing of the Church of its Lands and Revenues: For, no men have been more injuriously used, as to their legal

legal Rights, then the Bishops and Church-men. These, as the fattest Deer, must be destroyed; the other Rascal-herd of Schisms, Heresies, &c. being lean, may enjoy the benefit of a Toleration: Thus *Naboth's Vineyard* made him the onely blasphemmer of his City, and fit to dye. Still I see, while the breath of Religion fills the sails, Profit is the Compasse, by which Factionous men steer their course in all seditious Commotions.

I thank God, as no men lay more open to the sacrilegious temptation of usurping the Churches Lands and Revenues, (which issuing chiefly from the Crown, are held of it, and legally can revert onely to the Crown with My consent) so I have alwayes had such a perfect abhorrence of it in My soul, that I never found the least inclination to such sacrilegious Reformings: yet no man hath a greater desire to have Bishops and all Church-men so reformed, that they may best deserve and use, not onely what the pious munificence of My Predecessours hath given to God and the Church, but all other additions of Christian bounry.

But no necessity shall ever, I hope, drive Me or Mine to invade or sell the Priests Lands; which both *Pharaoh's* divinity, and *Joseph's* true piety abhorred to do; So unjust I think it both in the eye of Reason and Religion, to deprive the most sacred employment of all due encouragements; and like that other hard-hearted *Pharaoh*, to withdraw the Straw; and encrease the Task; so pursuing the oppressed Church, as some have done, to the Red-sea of a Civil War, where nothing but a miracle can save either It, or Him, who esteems it His greatest Title to be called, and His chiefest glory to be *The Defender of the Church both in its true Faith, and its just frutions, equally abhorring Sacriledge and Apostacy.*

I had rather live as My Predecessour *Henry* the third sometime did, on the Churches alms, then violently

lently to take the bread out of the Bishops and Ministers mouths.

The next work will be *Jeroboams* reformation, consecrating the meanest of the people to be Priests in *Israel*, to serve those golden Calves who have enriched themselves with the Churches Patrimony and Dowry; which, how it thrived both with Prince, Priests, and People, is well enough known: And so it will be here, when from the tuition of Kings and Queens, which have been nursing Fathers and Mothers of this Church, it shall be at their allowance, who have already discovered, what hard Fathers and Stepmothers they will be.

If the poverty of *Scotland* might, yet the plenty of *England* cannot excuse the envy and rapine of the Churches Rights and Revenues.

I cannot so much as pray God to prevent those sad consequences, which will inevitably follow the parity and poverty of Ministers, both in Church and State; since I think it no lesse then a mocking and tempting of God, to desire him to hinder those mischiefs, whose occasions and remedies are in our own power; it being every mans sin, not to avoid the one, and not to use the other.

There are wayes enough to repair the breaches of the State, without the ruines of the Church; as I would be a Restorer of the one, so I would not be an Oppressor of the other, under the pretence of publick Debts: The occasions contracting them, were bad enough, but such a discharging of them, would be much worse; I pray God neither, I nor Mine, may be accessary to either.

To thee, O Lord, do I addresse my prayer, beseeching thee to pardon the rashnesse of my Subjects swearings, and to quicken their sense and observation of those just, moral, and indispensable bonds, which thy Word, and the Laws of this Kingdom have laid upon their Consciences;

sciences; From which, no pretensions of piety and Reformation are sufficient to absolve them, or to engage them to any contrary practises.

Make them at length seriously to consider, that nothing violent and injurious can be religious.

Thou allowest no mans committing Sacriledge, under the zeal of abhorring Idols.

Suffer not sacrilegious designs to have the countenance of religious ties.

Thou hast taught us by the wisest of Kings, that it is a snare to take things that are holy, and after Vows to make enquiry.

Ever keep thy servant from consenting to perjurious and sacrilegious rapines, that I may not have the brand and curse to all posterity, of robbing thee and thy Church, of what thy bounty hath given us, and thy clemency hath accepted from us, wherewith to encourage Learning and Religion.

Though my Treasures are exhausted, my Revenues diminished, and my Debts encreased, yet never suffer me to be tempted to use such profane Reparations; lest a coal from thine altar set such a fire on my Throne and Conscience, as will be hardly quenched.

Let not the Debts and Engagements of the Publick, which some mens folly and prodigality hath contracted, be an occasion to impoverish thy Church.

The State may soon recover, by thy blessing of peace upon us; The Church is uever likely, in times, where the Charity of most men is grown so cold, and their Religion so illiberal.

Continue to those that serve thee and thy Church, all whose encouragements, which by the will of the pious Donors, and the justice of the Laws are due unto them; and give them grace to deserve and use them aright to thy glory, and the relief of the poor; That thy Priests may be cloathed with righteousness, and the poor may be satisfied with bread.

Let not holy things be given to Swine; nor the Churches
bread

bread to Dogs; rather let them go about the City, grin like a Dog, and grudge that they are not satisfied.

Let those sacred morsels, which some men have already by violence devoured, never digest with them, nor theirs; Let them be as Naboth's Vineyard to Ahab, gall in their mouthes, rottenness to their names, a Moth to their Families, and a sting to their Consciences.

Break in sunder, O Lord, all violent and sacrilegious Confederations, to do wickedly and injuriously.

Divide their hearts and tongues, who have bandied together against the Church and State, that the folly of such may be manifest to all men, and proceed no further.

But so favour my righteous dealing, O Lord, that in the mercies of thee, the most High, I may never miscarry.

XV. Upon the many Jealousies raised, and Scaadals cast upon the KING, to stir up the people against Him.

If I had not My own Innocency, and Gods protection, it were hard for Me to stand out against those stratagems and conflicts of malice, which by falsities seek to oppresse the Truth; and by Jealousies to supply the defect of real causes, which might seem to justify so unjust Engagements against Me.

And indeed, the worst effects of open Hostility come short of these designs: For I can more willingly lose My Crown, then My Credit; nor are My Kingdoms so dear to Me, as My Reputation and Honour.

Those must have a period with My life; but these may survive to a glorious kinde of Immortality, when I am dead and gone: A good name being the embalming of Princes, and a sweet consecrating of them to an eternity of love and gratitude among posterity.

Those foul and false aspersions were secret engines at first employed against My peoples love of Me: that

that undermining their opinion and value of Me, My enemies, and theirs too, might at once blow up their affections, and batter down their loyalty.

Wherein yet, I thank God, the detriment of My Honour is not so afflictive to Me, as the sin and danger of My peoples souls, whose eyes once blinded with such mists of suspicions, they are soon misled into the most desperate precipices of actions : wherein they do not onely not consider their sin and danger, but glory in their zealous adventures ; while I am rendred to them so fit to be destroyed, that many are ambitious to merit the name of My Destroyers ; Imagining they then fear God most, when they least honour their King.

I thank God, I never found, but My pity was above My anger ; nor have My passions ever so prevailed against Me, as to exclude My most compassionate prayers for them, whom devout errours, more then their own malice, have betrayed to a most religious Rebellion.

I had the charity to interpret, that most part of My Subjects fought against My supposed Errours, not My Person ; and intended to mend Me, not to end Me : And I hope that God pardoning their Errors, hath so far accepted and answered their good intentions, that as he hath yet preserved Me, so he hath by these afflictions prepared Me, both to do him better service, & My people more good, then hitherto I have done.

I do not more willingly forgive their seductions, which occasioned their loyal injuries, then I am ambitious by all Princely merits to redeem them from their unjust suspicions, and reward them for their good intentions.

I am too conscious to My own Affections toward the generality of My people, to suspect theirs to Me ; nor shall the malice of My Enemies ever be able to deprive Me of the comfort, which that confidence gives Me ; I shall never gratifie the spightfulnesse of a few,

few, with any sinister thoughts of all their Allegiance, whom pious frauds have seduced.

The worst some mens ambition can do, shall never perswade Me, to make so bad interpretations of most of My Subjects actions; who possibly may be Erroneous, but not Heretical in point of Loyalty.

The sense of the Injuries done to My Subjects is as sharp, as those done to My self; our welfares being inseparable; in this onely they suffer more then My self, that they are animated by some seducers, to injure at once both themselves and Me.

For this is not enough to the malice of My Enemies, that I be afflicted; but it must be done by such instruments, that My afflictions grieve Me not more, then this doth, that I am afflicted by those, whose prosperity I earnestly desire, and whose seduction I heartily deplore.

If they had been My open and forraign Enemies, I could have born it; but they must be My own Subjects, who are next to My Children, dear to Me: And for the restoring of whose tranquillity, I could willingly bee the *Jonah*; If I did not evidently foresee, that by the divided interests of their and Mine Enemies, as by contrary windes, the storm of their miseries would be rather encreased then allayed.

I had rather prevent My peoples ruine, then rule over them; nor am I so ambitious of that Dominion which is but My Right, as of their happinesse; if it could expiate, or countervail such a way of obtaining it, by the highest injuries of Subjects committed against their Sovereign.

Yet I had rather suffer all the miseries of life, and die many deaths, then shamefully to desert, or dishonourably to betray My own just Rights & Sovereignty; thereby to gratifie the ambition, or justifie the malice of My Enemies; between whose malice and other mens mistakes, I put as great a difference, as
between

between an ordinary Ague, and the Plague; or the touch of Novelty, and the Leprosie of Disloyalty.

As Lyars need have good memories, so malicious persons need good inventions; that their calumnies may fit every mans fancy; and what their reproaches want of truth, they may make up with number and shew.

My patience (I thank God) will better serve Me to bear, and My charity to forgive, then My leisure to answer the many false aspersions which some men have cast upon Me.

Did I not more consider My Subjects Satisfaction, then My own Vindication, I should never have given the malice of some men that pleasure, as to see Me take notice of, or remember what they say or object.

I would leave the Authors to be punished by their own evil manners, and seared consciences, which will, I believe, in a shorter time then they be aware of, both confute and revenge all those black and false Scandals which they have cast on Me; and make the World see, There is as little truth in them, as there was little worth in the broaching of them, or civility (I need not say Loyalty) in the not-suppressing of them; whose credit and reputation, even with the people, shall ere long be quite blasted by the breath of that same furnace of popular obloquy and detraction, which they have studied to heat and inflame to the highest degree of Infamy; and wherein they have sought to cast and consume My Name and Honour.

First, nothing gave Me more cause to suspect and search My own Innocency, then when I observed so many forward to engage against Me, who had made great professions of singular piety: For this gave to vulgar mindes so bad a reflection upon Me and My cause, as if it had been impossible to adhere to Me, and not withall part from God; to think or
speak

ſpeak well of Me, and not to blaſpheme him ; ſo many were perſwaded, That theſe two were utterly inconfiſtent, to be at once Loyal to Me, and truly Religious toward God.

Not but that I had (I thank God) many with Me, which were both Learned and Religious, (much above that ordinary ſize, and that vulgar proportion, wherein ſome men glory ſo much) who were ſo well ſatisfied in the cauſe of My ſufferings, that they choſe rather to ſuffer with Me, then forſake Me.

Nor is it ſtrange, that ſo religious Prétenſions as were uſed againſt Me, ſhould be to many well-minded men a great temptation to oppoſe Me ; Eſpecially, being urged by ſuch popular Preachers, as think it no ſin to lye for God, and what they pleaſe to call Gods Cauſe ; curſing all that will not curſe with them ; looking ſo much at, and crying up the goodneſſe of the end propounded, that they conſider not the lawfullneſſe of the means uſed, nor the depth of the miſchief, chiefly plotted and intended.

The weakneſſe of theſe mens judgements, muſt be made up by their clamours and activity.

It was a great part of ſome mens Religion, to ſcandalize Me and Mine ; they thought theirs could not be true, if they cryed not down Mine as falſe.

I thank God, I have had more tryal of his grace, as to the conſtancy of My Religion in the Proteſtant profeſſion of the Church of *England*, both abroad and at home, then ever they are like to have.

Nor do I know any Exception I am ſo lyable to, in their opinion, as too great a fixedneſſe in that Religion ; whoſe judicious and ſolid grounds, both from Scripture and Antiquity, will not give My Conſcience leave to approve or conſent to thoſe many dangerous and divided Innovations, which the bold Ignorance of ſome men would needs obtrude upon Me and My People.

Contrary to thoſe well-tryed Foundations both of
Truth

Truth and order, which men of far greater Learning, and clearer Zeal, have settled in the confession and constitution of this Church in *England*, which many former Parliaments, in the most calm and unpassionate times, have oft confirmed; In which I shall have ever, by Gods help, persevere, as believing it hath most of Primitive Truth and Order.

Nor did My using the assistance of some Papists, which were My Subjects, any way fight against My Religion, as some men would needs interpret it; especially those, who least of all men cared whom they employed, or what they said and did, so they might prevail.

'Tis strange that so wise men, as they would be esteemed, should not conceive, That differences of persuasion in matters of Religion may easily fall out, where there is the sameness of Duty, Allegiance and Subjection. The first they own as Men and Christians, to God: the second they owe to Me in common, as their King: Different professions in point of Religion, cannot (any more then in civil Trades) take away the community of relations either to Parents, or to Princes: And where is there such an *Oglie* or medley of various Religions in the World again, as those men entertain in their service (who finde most fault with Me) without any scruple as to the diversity of their Sects and Opinions.

It was indeed, a foul and indelible shame, for such as would be counted Protestants, to enforce Me a declared Protestant, their Lord and King, to a necessary use of Papists, or any other, who did but their duty to help Me to defend My self.

Nor did I more then is lawful for any King, in such exigents, to use the aid of any his Subjects.

I am sorry the Papists should have a greater sense of their Allegiance, then many Protestant professors; who seem to have learned, and to practise the worst principles of the worst Papists.

Indeed

Indeed it had been a very impertinent and unreasonable scruple in Me (and very pleasing no doubt to My Enemies) to have been then disputing the points of indifferent beliefs in My Subjects, when I was disputed with by Swords points: and when I needed the help of My Subjects, as Men, no lesse then their prayers, as Christians.

The noise of My Evil Counsellours was another useful device for those, who were impatient any mens counsels, but their own, should be followed in Church or State; who were so eager in giving Me better counsel, that they would not give Me leave to take it with freedom, as a Man, or honour, as a King; making their counsels more like a Drench, that must be poured down, then a draught, which might be fairly and leisurely drank, if I liked it.

I will not justifie beyond humane errors and frailties, My self, or My Counsellours: They might be subject to some miscarriages, yet such, as were far more reparable by second and better thoughts, then those enormous extravagances, wherewith some men have now even wildred, and almost quite lost both Church and State.

The event of things, at last, will make it evident to My Subjects, That had I followed the worst counsels, that My worst Counsellours ever had the boldnesse to offer Me, or My self any inclination to use, I could not so soon have brought forth Church and State in three flourishing Kingdoms, to such a *Chaos* of confusions, and Hell of miseries, as some have done; out of which they cannot, or will not, in the midst of their many great advantages, redeem either Me or My Subjects.

No men were more willing to complain, then I was to redresse, what I saw in Reason was either done or advised amisse; and this I thought I had done, even beyond the expectation of moderate men: who were sorry to see Mee prone even to injure
My

My Self, out of a Zeal to relieve My Subjects.

But other mens insatiable desire of revenge upon Me, My Court, and My Clergy, hath wholly beguiled both Church and State, of the benefit of all My, either Retractations, or Concessions; and withal, hath deprived all those (now so zealous Persecutors) both of the comfort and reward of their former pretended persecutions, wherein they so much gloried among the vulgar; and which, indeed, a truly humble Christian will so highly prize, as rather not be relieved, then be revenged, so as to be bereaved of that Crown of Christian patience, which attends humble and injured sufferers.

Another artifice used to withdraw My peoples affections from Me, to their designs, was, The noise and ostentation of Liberty, which men are not more prone to desire, then unapt to bear in the popular sense; which is to do what every man liketh best.

If the divinest Liberty be, to will what men should, and to do what they so will, according Reason; Laws, and Religion; I envy not My Subjects that Liberty, which is all I desire to enjoy My self; So far am I from the desire of oppressing theirs: Nor were those Lords and Gentlemen which assisted Me, so prodigal of their liberties, as with their lives and fortunes to help on the enslaving of themselves and their posterities.

As to civil Immunities, none but such as desire to drive on their ambitious and covetous designs, over the ruines of Church and State, Prince, Peers, and people, will ever desire greater freedoms then the Laws allow; whose bounds good men count their Ornament and Protection; others their Manacles and Oppression.

Nor is it just any man should expect the reward and benefit of the Law, who despiseth his rule and direction; losing justly his Safety, while he seeks an unreasonable Liberty.

Time will best inform My Subjects, That those are the best preservers of their true Liberties, who allow themselves the least licentiousness against, or beyond the Laws.

They will feel it at last to their cost, That it is impossible those men should be really tender of their fellow-Subjects Liberties, who have the hardness to use their King with so severe restraints, against all Laws, both Divine and Humane; under which, yet, I will rather perish, then complain to those, who want nothing to compleat their mirth and triumph, but such Musick.

In point of true conscientious tenderness (attended with humility and meekness, not with proud and arrogant activity, which seeks to hatch every egge of indifferent opinion to a Faction or Schism) I have oft declared, how little I desire My Laws and Scepter should intrench on Gods Sovereignty, which is the onely King of mens Consciences; and yet he hath laid such restraints upon men, as commands them to be subject for conscience sake, giving no men liberty to break the Law established, farther then with meekness and patience they are content to suffer the penalties annexed, rather then perturb the publick peace.

The truth is, some mens thirst after novelties, others despair to relieve the necessities of their Fortunes, or satisfy their Ambition, in peaceable times, (distrusting Gods providence, as well as their own merits) were the secret (but principal) impulsives to these popular commotions, by which Subjects have been persuaded to extend much of those plentiful Estates they got and enjoyed under My Government, in peaceable times; which yet must now be blasted with all the odious reproaches, which impotent malice can invent; and My self exposed to all those contempts, which may most diminish the Majesty of a King, and increase the ungrateful Insolencies of My people.

For

For Mine Honour, I am well assured, That as Mine Innocency is clear before God, in point of any calumnies they object; so My reputation shall, like the Sun, (after Owls and Bats have had their freedom in the night and darker times) rise and recover it self to such a degree of splendour, as those feral Birds shall be grieved to behold, and unable to bear. For never were any Princes more glorious, then those whom God hath suffered to be tried in the fornace of afflictions, by their injurious Subjects.

And who knows but the just and merciful God will do Me good, for some mens hard, false, and evil speeches against Me? wherein they speak rather what they wish, then what they believe or know.

Nor can I suffer so much in point of Honour, by those rude and scandalous Pamphlets (which like fire in great conflagrations, flie up and down to set all places on like flames) then those men do, who pretending to so much piety, are so forgetful of their duty to God and Me: By no way ever vindicating the Majesty of their King against any of those, who contrary to the precept of God, and precedent of Angels, *speake evil of dignities, and bring railing accusations against those, who are honoured with the name of gods.*

But 'tis no wonder if men not fearing GOD, should not honour their KING.

They will easily contemn such shadows of God, who reverence not that Supreme and adorable Majesty, in comparison of whom, all the glory of Men and Angels is but obscurity; yet hath he graven such Characters of divine Authority, and Sacred power upon Kings, as none may, without sin, seek to blot them out. Nor shall their black veils be able to hide the shining of My face, while God gives Me a heart frequently and humbly to converse with him, from whom alone are all the traditions of true Glory and Majesty.

Thou, O Lord, knowest my reproach, and my dishonour, my adversaries are all before thee.

My soul is among Lions, among them that are set on fire, even the sons of men; whose teeth are spears and arrows; their tongue a sharp sword.

Mine enemies reproach Me all the day long, and those that are mad against me are sworn together.

O my God, how long shall the sons of men turn my glory into shame? how long shall they love vanity, and seek after lies?

Thou hast heard the reproaches of wicked men on every side. Hold not thy peace, lest my enemies prevail against me, and lay mine honour in the dust.

Thou, O Lord, shalt destroy them that speak lies; the Lord will abhor both the blood-thirsty, and deceitful men.

Make my righteousness to appear as the light, and mine innocency to shine forth as the Sun at noon day.

Suffer not my silence to betray mine innocence, nor my displeasure, my patience; That after my Saviours example, being reviled, I may not revile again, and being cursed by them, I may bless them.

Thou that wouldest not suffer Shimei's tongue to go unpunished, when by thy judgements on David he might seem to justifie his disdainful reproaches; Give mee grace to intercede with thy mercy for these my enemies, that the reward of false and lying tongues, even hot burning coals of eternal fire, may not be brought upon them.

Let my prayers, and patience, be as water to cool and quench their tongues, who are already set on fire with the fire of Hell, and tormented with those malicious flames.

Let me be happy to refute, and put to silence their evil speaking by well-doing; and let them enjoy not the fruit of their lips, but of my prayer, for their repentance, and thy pardon.

Teach me Davids patience, and Hezekiah's devotion, that I may look to thy mercy through mans malice, and see thy justice in their sin.

Let Sheba's seditious speeches, Rabshekah's railing, and Shimei's cursing, provoke, as my humble prayer to thee, so thy renewed blessing toward me.

Though they curse, do thou blesse, and I shall be blessed; and made a blessing to my people.

That the stone, which some builders refuse, may become the head stone of the corner.

Look down from Heaven, and save me from the reproach of them that would swallow me up.

Hide me in the secret of thy presence, from the pride of man, and keep me from the strife of tongues.

XVI. Upon the Ordinance against the Common-Prayer-Book.

IT is no news to have all Innovations ushered in with the Name of Reformations in Church and State, by those, who seeking to gain reputation with the Vulgar for their extraordinary parts and piety, must needs undo whatever was formerly settled never so well and wisely.

So hardly can the pride of those that study Novelty, allow former times any share or degree of wisdom or godlinesse.

And because matter of prayer and devotion to God justly bears a great part in Religion, (being the Souls more immediate converse with the Divine Majesty) nothing could be more plausible to the people, then to tell them, They served God amisse in that point.

Hence our publick Liturgy, or Forms of constant Prayers, must be (not amended, in what upon free and publick advice might seem to sober men inconvenient for matter or manner, to which I should easily consent, but) wholly cashiered and abolished; and after many popular contempts offered to the Book, and those that used it according to their

Consciences, and the Laws in force, it must be crucified by an Ordinance, the better to please either those men, who gloried in their extemporary vein & fluency: or others, who conscious to their own formality in the use of it, thought they fully expiated their sin of not using it aright, by laying all the blame upon it, and a total rejection of it as a dead letter, thereby to excuse the deadnesse of their hearts.

As for the matter contained in the Book, sober & learned men have sufficiently vindicated it against the evils and exceptions of those, who thought it a part of piety, to make what profane objections they could against it; especially for Popery and Superstition; whereas no doubt the Liturgy was exactly conformed to the Doctrine of the Church of *England*: and this by all Reformed Churches is confessed to be most sound and Orthodox.

For the manner of using set and prescribed Forms, there is no doubt, but that wholesome words being known and fitted to mens understandings, are soonest received into their hearts, and aptest to excite & carry along with them judicious and fervent affections.

Nor do I see any reason why Christians should be weary of a well-composed Liturgy (as I hold this to be) more then of other things, wherein the constancy abates nothing of the excellency and usefulness.

I could never see any reason, why any Christian should abhor, or be forbidden to use the same Forms of prayer, since he prays to the same God, believes in the same Saviour, professes the same Truths, reads the same Scriptures, hath the same duties upon him, and feels the same daily wants for the most part, both inward and outward, which are common to the whole Church.

Sure we may as well before hand know what we pray, as to whom we pray; and in what words, as to what sense; when we desire the same things, what hinders we may not use the same words? our appetite

tite and digestion too may be good when we use, as we pray for, *our daily bread*.

Some men, I hear, are so impatient not to use in all their devotions their own intention and gifts, that they not onely disguise (as too many) but wholly cast away and contemn the *Lords Prayer*; whose great guilt is, that it is the warrant and original pattern of all set Liturgies in the Christian Church.

I ever thought, that the proud ostentation of mens abilities for invention, and the vain affectations of variety for expressions, in publick prayer, or any sacred administrations, merits a greater brand of sin, then that which they call Coldnesse and Barrennesse. Nor are men in those novelties, lesse subject to formal and superficial tempers (as to their hearts) then in the use of constant forms, where not the words, but mens hearts are too blame.

I make no doubt but a man may be very formal in the most extemporary variety; and very fervently devout in the most wonted expressions: Nor is God more a God of variety, then of constancy: Nor are constant Forms of prayers more likely to flatter, and hinder the Spirit of prayer and devotion, then unpremeditated & confused variety, to distract and lose it.

Though I am not against a grave, modest, discreet, and humble use of Ministers gifts, even in publick, the better to fit, and excite their own and the peoples affections to the present occasions; yet I know no necessity why private and single abilities should quite jostle out, and deprive the Church of the joynt abilities and concurrent gifts of many learned and godly men; such as the Composers of the Service-Book were; who may in all reason be thought to have more of gifts and graces enabling them to compose, with serious deliberation and concurrent advice, such Forms of prayers, as may best fit the Churches common wants, inform the Hearers understanding, and stir up that fiduciary and fervent application of their

spirits (wherein consists the very life and soul of prayer, and that so much pretended Spirit of prayer) then any private man by his solitary abilities can be presumed to have ; which, what they are many times (even there, where they make a great noise and shew) the affectations, emptiness, impertinency, rudeness, confusions, flatness, levity, obscurity, vain and ridiculous repetitions, the senseless, and oft-times blasphemous expressions ; all these burthened with a most tedious and intolerable length, do sufficiently convince all men, but those who glory in that Pharisaick way.

Wherein men must be strangely impudent, and flatterers of themselves, not to have an infinite shame of what they so do and say, in things of so sacred a nature, before God and the Church, after so ridiculous, and indeed, profane a manner.

Nor can it be expected, but that in duties of frequent performance, as Sacramental administrations, and the like, which are still the same ; Ministers must either come to use their own Forms constantly, which are not like to be so sound, or comprehensive of the nature of the duty, as Forms of publick compofure ; or else they must every time affect new expressions, when the subject is the same ; which can hardly be presumed in any mans greatest sufficiencies, not to want (many times) much of that completeness, order and gravity becoming those duties, which by this means are exposed at every celebration, to every Ministers private infirmities, indispositions, errors, disorders, and defects, both for judgement and expression.

A serious sense of which inconvenience in the Church, unavoidably following every mans several manner of officiating, no doubt, first occasioned the wisdom and piety of the ancient Churches, to remedy those mischiefs, by the use of constant Liturgies of publick compofure.

The want of which, I believe, this Church will sufficiently feel, when the unhappy fruits of many mens un-governed ignorance, and confident defects, shall be discovered in more errours, schisms, disorders, and uncharitable distractions in Religion, which are already but too many, the more is the pity.

However, if violence must needs bring in, and alter those Innovations, (that men may not seem to have nothing to do) which Law, Reason, and Religion forbids, at least to be so obtruded, as wholly to juttle out the publick Liturgy.

Yet nothing can excuse that most unjust and partial severity of those men, who either lately had subscribed to, used and maintained the Service-Book; or refused to use it, cryed out of the rigour of Laws and Bishops, which suffered them not to use the liberty of their consciences, in not using it.

That these men (I say) should so suddenly change the Liturgy into a Directory, as if the Spirit needed help for invention, though not for expressions; or as if matter prescribed did not as much stint and obstruct the Spirit, as if it were cloathed in, and confined to fit words: (So slight and easie is that Legerdemain which will serve to delude the vulgar.)

That further, they should use such severity, as not to suffer without penalty, any to use the Common-prayer-Book publickly, although their consciences binde them to it, as a duty of piety to God, and obedience to the Laws.

Thus I see, no men are prone to be greater Tyrants, and more rigorous exacters upon others to conform to their illegal novelties, then such, whose pride was formerly least disposed to the obedience of lawful constitutions; and whose licentious humours most pretended conscientious liberties; which freedom, with much regret they now allow to Me and My Chaplains, when they may have leave to serve Me, whose abilities, even in other extemporary way,

comes not short of the others, but their modesty and learning far exceeds the most of them.

But this matter is of so popular a nature, as some men knew it would not bear learned and sober debates, lest being convinced by the evidence of Reason as well as Laws, they should have been driven either to sin more against their knowledge, by taking away the Liturgy; or to displease some Faction of the people, by continuing the use of it.

Though I believe they have offended more considerable men, not only for their numbers and estates, but for their weighty and judicious piety, then those are, whose weakness and giddiness they sought to gratifie by taking it away.

One of the greatest faults some men found with the Common-Prayer-Book, I believe, was this, That it taught them to pray so oft for Me; to which petitions they had not Loyalty enough to say *Amen*, nor yet Charity enough to forbear Reproaches, and even Cursings of Me in their own Forms, in stead of praying for Me.

I wish their Repentance may be their onely punishment; that seeing the mischiefs which the disuse of publick Liturgies hath already produced, they may restore that credit, use, and reverence to them, which by the ancient Churches were given to Set Forms of sound and wholsom words.

And thou, O Lord, which art the same God, blessed for ever: whose mercies are full of variety, and yet of constancy; Thou deniest us not a new and fresh sense of our old and daily wants, nor despisest renewed affections joyned to constant expressions.

Let us not want the benefit of thy Churches united and well-advised Devotions.

Let the matters of our prayers be agreeable to thy will, which is alwayes the same, and the fervency of our spirits to the motions of thy holy Spirit in us.

And

And then we doubt not, but thy spiritual perfections are such, as thou art neither to be pleased with affected Novelties for matter or manner, nor offended with the pious constancy of our petitions in them both.

Whose variety or constancy thou hast nowhere either forbidden or commanded, but left them to the piety and prudence of thy Church, that both may be used, neither despised.

Keep men in that pious moderation of their judgements in matters of Religion; that their ignorance may not offend others, nor their opinion of their own abilities tempt them to deprive others of what they may lawfully and devoutly use, to help their infirmities.

And since the advantage of Error consists in novelty and variety, as Truths in unity and constancy: Suffer not thy Church to be pestered with errors, and deformed with undecencies in thy service, under the pretence of variety and novelty. Nor to be deprived of truth, unity, and order, under their fallacy, That constancy is the cause of formality.

Lord, keep us from formal Hypocrisie in our own hearts, and then we know that praying to thee, or praising of thee (with David and other holy men) in the same forms cannot hurt us.

Give us wisdom to amend what is amiss within us, and there will be lesse to mend without us.

Evermore defend and deliver thy Church from the effects of blinde zeal, and overbold devotion.

XVII. Of the differences between the KING and the two Houses, in point of Church-Government.

Touching the Government of the Church by Bishops, the common Jealousie hath been, That I am earnest and resolute to maintain it, not so much out of piety, as policy, and reason of State.

Wherein

Wherein so far indeed reason of State doth induce Me to approve that Government above any other, as I finde it impossible for a Prince to preserve the State in quiet, unlesse he hath such an influence upon Church-men, and they such a dependance on Him, as may best restrain the seditious exorbitancies of Ministers tongues; who with the Keys of Heaven have so far the Keys of the peoples hearts, as they prevail much by their Oratory, to let in or shut out, both Peace and Loyalty.

So that I being (as King) intrusted by God, and the Laws, with the good both of Church and Sate; I see no reason I should give up, or weaken by any change, that power and influence which in right and reason I ought to have over both.

The moving Bishops out of the House of Peers (of which I have elsewhere given an account) was sufficient to take off any suspition, that I incline to them for any use to be made of their Votes in State-affairs: Though indeed I never thought any Bishop worthy to sit in that House, who would not Vote according to his conscience.

I must now in charity be thought desirous to preserve that Government in its right constitution, as a matter of Religion, wherein both My judgement is fully satisfied; that it hath of all other the fullest Scripture grounds, and also the constant practice of all Christian Churches; till of late years, the tumultuosity of people, or the factiousnesse and pride of Presbyters, or the covetousnesse of some States and Princes, gave occasion to some mens wits to invent new models, and propose them under specious titles, of *Christs Government, Scepter, and Kingdom*; the better to serve their turns, to whom the change was beneficial.

They must give Me leave, having none of their temptations to invite Me to alter the Government of Bishops (that I may have a title to their Estates)

not to believe their pretended grounds to any new ways: contrary to the full and constant testimony of all Histories, sufficiently convincing unbyased men; that as the Primitive Churches were undoubtedly governed by the Apostles and their immediate Successours, the first and best Bishops; so it cannot in reason or charity be supposed, that all Churches in the World should either be ignorant of the rule by them prescribed, or so soon deviate from their divine and holy patern: That since the first Age, for 1500 years, not one example can be produced of any settled Church, wherein were many Ministers and Congregations which had not some Bishops above them, under whose Jurisdiction and Government they were.

Whose constant and universal practice agreeing with so large and evident Scripture-Directions and Examples, are set down in the Epistles to *Timothy* and *Titus*; for the settling of that Government, not in the persons onely of *Timothy* and *Titus*, but in the succession; (the want of Government being that, which the Church can no more dispense with, in point of well-being, then the want of the Word and Sacraments, in point of being.)

I wonder how men came to look with so envious an eye upon Bishops power and authority, as to oversee both the Ecclesiastical use of them, and Apostolical constitution: which to Me seems no lesse evidently set forth, as to the main scope and designe of those Epistles, for the settling of a peculiar Office, Power, and Authority in them, as President-Bishops above others, in point of Ordination, Censures, and other acts of Ecclesiastical Discipline; then those shorter characters of the qualities and duties of Presbyter-Bishops, and Deacons, are described in some parts of the same Epistles; who in the latitude and community of the name, were then, and may now, not improperly be called *Bishops*,

as to the care and oversight of single Congregations, committed to them by the Apostles, or those Apostolical Bishops, who (as *Timothy* and *Titus*) succeeded them in that ordinary power, there assigned over larger divisions, in which were many Presbyters.

The humility of those first Bishops avoiding the eminent title of Apostles, as a name in the Churches stile, appropriated from its common notion (*of a Messenger, or one sent*) to that special dignity which had extraordinary call, mission, gifts, and power immediately from Christ: they contented themselves with the ordinary titles of Bishops and Presbyters, until use (the great arbitrator of words, and master of language) finding reason to distinguish by a peculiar name, those persons, whose power and office were indeed distinct from, & above all other in the Church, as succeeding the Apostles in the ordinary and constant power of governing the Churches, the honour of (whose name they moderately, yet commendably declined) all Christian Churches (submitting to that special authority) appropriated also the name of *Bishop*, without any suspicion or reproach of arrogance, to those, who were by Apostolical propogation rightly descended and invested into that highest and largest power, of governing even the most pure and Primitive Churches; which, without all doubt, had many such holy Bishops, after the pattern of *Timothy* and *Titus*; whose special power is not more clearly set down in those Epistles (the chief grounds and limits of all Episcopal claim, as from Divine Right) than are the characters of these perilous times, and those men that make them such, who not enduring sound Doctrine, and clear testimonies of all Churches practice, are most perverse Disputers, and proud Ufurpers against true Episcopacy: who, if they be not Traytors and Boasters, yet they seem to be very covetous, heady, high-minded, inordinate and fierce, lovers of themselves, having much of the form, little of the power of godliness. Who,

Who, by popular heaps of weak, light, and unlearned Teachers, seek to over-lay and smother the pregnancy and authority of that power of Episcopal Government, which, beyond all equivocation and vulgar fallacy of names, is most convincingly set forth, both by Scripture, and all after Histories of the Church.

This I write rather like a Divine, than a Prince, that posterity may see (if ever these papers be publick) that I had fair grounds both from Scripture-Canons, and Ecclesiastical examples, whereon My judgement was stated for Episcopal Government.

Nor was it any policy of State, or obstinacy of will, or partiality of affection, either to the men or their Function which fixed Me: who cannot in point of worldly respects be so considerable to Me, as to recompence the injuries and losses, I and My dearest relations with My Kingdoms, have sustained and hazarded, chiefly at first upon this quarrel.

And not onely in Religion, of which, Scripture is the best rule, and the Churches Universal practise the best commentary; but also in right reason, and the true nature of Government, it cannot be thought that an ordinary Subordination among Presbyters, or Ministers, should be any more against Christianity, then it is in all secular and civil Governments, where parity breeds Confusion and Faction.

I can no more believe, that such order is inconsistent with true Religion; then good features are with beauty, or numbers with harmony.

Nor is it likely that God, who appointed several Orders, and a Prelacy, in the Government of his Church, among the Jewish Priest, should abhor or forbid them among Christian Ministers; who have as much of the principles of Schism and Division, as other men; for preventing and suppressing of which, the Apostolical wisdom (which was divine) after that Christians were multiplied so many Congregations,
and

and Presbyters with them, appointed this way of Government, which might best preserve order and union with Authority.

So that I conceive it was not the favour of Princes, or ambition of Presbyters, but the wisdom and piety of the Apostles, that first settled Bishops in the Church, which Authority they constantly used, and enjoyed in those times which were purest for Religion, though sharpest for Persecution.

Not that I am against the managing of this Presidency and Authority in one man, by the joynt Counsel and consent of many Presbyters: I have offered to restore that, as a fit means to avoid those Errours, Corruptions, and Partialities, which are incident to any one man; Also to avoid Tyranny, which becomes no Christians, least of all Church-men; besides, it will be a means to take away that burthen, and odium of affairs, which may lye too heavy on one mans shoulders, as indeed I think it formerly did on the Bishops here.

Nor can I see what can be more agreeable both to Reason and Religion, then such a frame of Government which is paternal, not Magisterial; and wherein not onely the necessity of avoiding Faction and Confusion, Emulations and Contempts, which are prone to arise among equals in power and function; but also the differences of some Ministers gifts, and aptitudes for government above others, doth invite to imploy them, in reference to those abilities, wherein they are eminent.

Nor is this judgement of Mine touching Episcopacy, any pre-occupation of opinion, which will not admit any oppositions against it: It is well known I have endeavoured to satisfie My self in what the chief Patrons for other wayes can say against this, or for theirs: And I finde they have as far lesse of Scripture grounds, and of Reason; so for examples and practice of the Church, or testimonies of Histories, they are

are wholly destitute, wherein the whole stream runs so for Episcopacy, that there is not the least rivulet for any others.

As for those obtruded examples of some late reformed Churches, (for many retain Bishops still) whom necessity of times and affairs rather excuseth, then commendeth for their inconformity to all Antiquity; I could never see any reason, why Churches orderly reformed and governed by Bishops, should be forced to conform to those few, rather then to the Catholick example of all ancient Churches, which needed no Reformation: And to those Churches at this day, who, governed by Bishops in all the Christian World, are many more then Presbyterians or Independents can pretend to be: All whom the Churches in My three Kingdoms lately governed by Bishops, would equalize (*I think*) if not exceed.

Nor is it any point of wisdom or charity, where Christians differ, (as many do in some points) there to widen the differences, and at once to give all the Christian World (except a handfull of some Protestants) so great a scandal in point of Church-Government; whom, though you may convince of their Errours in some points of Doctrine, yet you shall never perswade them, that to compleat their Reformation, they must necessarily desert, and wholly cast off that Government, which they and all before them, have ever owned as Catholick, Primitive, and Apostolical: So far, that never Schismatics, nor Hereticks (except those Arrians) have strayed from the unity and conformity of the Church, in that point; ever having Bishops above Presbyters.

Besides, the late general approbation and submission to this Government of Bishops, by the Clergy, as well as the Laity of these Kingdoms, is a great confirmation of My Judgement; and their inconstancy

is a great prejudice against their novelty; I cannot in charity so far doubt of their learning or integrity, as if they understood not what heretofore they did, or that they did conform contrary to their Consciences: So that their facility and levity is never to be excused, who, before ever the point of Church-government had any free and impartial debate, contrary to their former Oathes and practice, against their obedience to the Laws in force, and against My consent, have not onely quite cried down the Government by Bishops; but have approved and encouraged the violent and most illegal stripping all the Bishops, and many other Church-men, of all their due Authority and Revenues, even to the selling away, and utter alienation of those Church-lands from any Ecclesiastical uses: So great a power hath the stream of times, and the prevalency of parties over some mens judgements; of whose so sudden and so total change, little reason can be given, besides the Scots Army coming into *England*.

But the folly of these men will at last punish it self, and the Desertors of Episcopacy will appear the greatest Enemies to, and Betrayers of their own interest: for Presbytery is never so considerable, or effectual, as when it is joyned to, and crowned with Episcopacy. All Ministers will finde as great a difference in point of thriving, between the favour of the people, and of Princes, as plants do between being watered by hand, or by the sweet and liberal dews of Heaven.

The tenuity and contempt of Clergy-men will soon let them see, what a poor carcase they are, when parted from the influence of that Head, to whose Supremacy they have been sworn.

A little moderation might have prevented great mischiefs; I am firm to Primitive Episcopacy, not to have it extirpated, (if I can hinder it.) Discretion without passion might easily reform, whatever the
rust

rust of times, or indulgence of Laws, or corruption of manners, have brought upon it. It being a grosse vulgar error to impute to, or revenge upon the Function, the faults of times, or persons; which seditious and popular principle, and practice, all wise men abhor.

For those secular additaments and ornaments of Authority, Civil Honour, and Estate, which My Predecessours, and Christian Princes, in all Countries have annexed to Bishops and Church men; I look upon them but as just rewards of their Learning and Piety, who are fit to be in any degree of Church-government; also enablements to works of Charity and Hospitality, meet strengthenings of their Authority in point of respect and observance; which in peaceful times is hardly payed to any Governours by the measure of their virtues, so much, as by that of their Estates; poverty and meannesse exposing them and their Authority to the contempt of licentious mindes and manners, which persecuting Times much restrained.

I should have such men Bishops, as are most worthy of those encouragements, and best able to use them: if at any time My judgement of men failed, My good intention made My error venial: And some Bishops, I am sure I had, whose learning, gravity, and piety, no men of any worth or forehead can deny: But, of all men, I would have Church-men, especially the Governours, to be redeemed from that vulgar neglect; which (besides an innate principle of vicious opposition, which is in all men against those that seem to reprove, or restrain them) will necessarily follow both the Presbyterian parity, which makes all Ministers equal; and the Independent inferiority, which sets their Pastors below the people.

This for My judgement touching Episcopacy, wherein (God knows) I do not gratifie any designe or passion with, the least perverting of Truth.

And

And now I appeal to God above, and all the Christian World, whether it be just for Subjects, or pious for Christians, by violence, and infinite indignities, with servile restraints to seek to force Me their King and Sovereign, as some men have endeavoured to do, against all these grounds of My Judgement, to consent to their weak and divided novelties.

The greatest pretender of them desires not more than I do, That the Church should be governed, as Christ hath appointed, in true Reason, and in Scripture; of which, I could never see any probable shew for any other wayes: who either content themselves with the examples of some Churches, in their infancy and solitude; when one Presbyter might serve one Congregation, in a City or Countrey; or else they deny these most evident Truths, That the Apostles were Bishops over those Presbyters they ordained, as well as over the Churches they planted; and that, Government being necessary for the Churches well-being, when multiplied and sociated, must also necessarily descend from the Apostles to others, after the example of that power and superiority they had above others; which could not end with their persons, since the use and ends of such government still continue.

It is most sure, that the purest Primitive and best Churches flourished under Episcopacy; and may so still, if Ignorance, Superstition, Avarice, Revenge, and other disorderly and disloyal passions had not so blown up some mens mindes against it, that what they want of Reasons or Primitive paterns, they supply with violence and oppression; wherein some mens zeal for Bishops Lands, Houses, and Revenues, hath set them on work to eat up Episcopacy: which (however other men esteem) to Me is no lesse sin, then Sacriledge; or a robbery of GOD (the giver of all we have) of that portion which devout mindes have thankfully given again to him, in giving it to his Church

Church and Prophets; through whose hands he gratuitously accepts even a cup of cold water, as a libation offered to himself.

Furthermore, as to My particular engagement above other men, by an Oath agreeable to My judgement, I am solemnly obliged to preserve that Government, and the Rights of the Church.

Were I convinced of the unlawfulness of the Function, as Antichristian, (which some men boldly, but weakly calumniate) I could soon, with Judgement, break that Oath, which erroneously was taken by Me.

But being daily by the best disquisition of Truth, more confirmed in the Reason and Religion of that, to which I am Sworn; How can any Man that wisheth not My damnation, persuade Me at once to so notorious and combined sins of Sacrilege and Perjury? besides the many personal injustices I must do to many worthy men, who are as legally invested in their Estates, as any who seek to deprive them; and they have by no Law, been convicted of those crimes, which might forfeit their Estates and Livelyhoods.

I have oft wondred, how men pretending to tenderness of Conscience, and Reformation, can at once tell Me, That My Coronation Oath bindes Me to consent to whatsoever they shall propound to Me (which they urge with such Violence) though contrary to all that Rational and Religious Freedom which every man ought to preserve, and of which they seem so tender in their own Votes, yet at the same time these men will needs persuade Me, That I must, and ought to dispence with, and roundly break that part of My Oath, which bindes Me (agreeable to the best light of Reason and Religion I have) to maintain the Government, and legal Rights of the Church. 'Tis strange
My

My lot should be valid in that part, which both My self, and all men in their own case, esteem injurious and unreasonable, as being against the very natural and essential liberty of our souls; yet it should be invalid, and to be broken in another clause, wherein I think My self justly obliged both to God and Man.

Yet upon this Back chiefly have I been held so long, by some mens ambitious covetousnesse, and sacrilegious cruelty; torturing (with Me) both Church and State, in Civil dissentions, till I shall be forced to consent, and declare that I do approve, what (God knows) I utterly dislike, and in My Soul abhor, as many wayes highly against Reason, Justice, and Religion: and, wheretoe, if I should shamefully and dishonourably give My consent, yet should I not by so doing, satisfie the divided Interests and Opinions of those Parties, which contend with each other, as well as both against Me and Episcopacy.

Nor can My late condescending to the Scots in point of Church Government, be rightly objected against Me, as an inducement for Me, to consent to the like in My other Kingdoms; for it should be considered, that Episcopacy was not so rooted and settled there, as tis here; nor I (in that respect) so strictly bound to continue it in that Kingdom as in this; for what I think in My judgement best, I may not think so absolutely necessary for all places, and at all times.

If any shall impute My yeelding to them, as My failing and sin, I can easily acknowledge it; but that is no argument to do so again, or much worse, I being now more convinced in that point: nor indeed hath My yeelding to them been so happy and successful, as to encourage Me to grant the like to others.

Did I see any thing more of Christ, as to Meekness, Justice, Order, Charity, and Loyalty, in those that pretend to other modes of Government, I might suspect My judgement to be byased or fore-stalled with

with some prejudice and wontedness of Opinion ; but I have hitherto so much cause to suspect the contrary in the manners of many of those men, that I cannot from them gain the least reputation for their new wayes of Government.

Nor can I finde that in any Reformed Churches (whose patens are so cried up, and obtruded upon the Churches under My Dominion) that either Learning or Religion, works of Piety or Charity, have so flourished beyond what they have done in My Kingdoms (by Gods blessing) which might make Me believe either Presbytery or Independency have a more benign influence upon the Church and mens hearts and lives, then Episcopacy in its right constitution.

The abuses of which, deserve to be extirpated as much as the use retained ; for I think it far better to hold to Primitive and Uniform Antiquity, then to comply with divided Novelty.

A right Episcopacy would at once satisfie all just desires and interests of good Bishops, humble Presbyters, and sober people ; so as Church affairs should be managed neither with tyranny, parity, nor popularity ; neither Bishops ejected, nor Presbyters despised, nor people oppressed.

And in this integrity both of My judgement and Conscience, I hope God will preserve Me.

For thou, O Lord, knowest my uprightnesse, and tendernesse ; as thou hast set me to be a Defender of the Faith, and a Protector of thy Church, so suffer me not by any violence, to be overborn against my Conscience.

Arise, O Lord, maintain thine own cause, let not thy Church be deformed, as to that Government, which derived from thy Apostles, hath been retained in purest and primitive times, till the Revenues of the Church became the secular envy ; which seeks to rob it of all the encouragements of Learning and Religion.

Make me, as the good Samaritan, compassionate and helpful

helpful to thy afflicted Church; which some men have wounded and robbed, others passe by, without regarding either to pay or relieve.

As my power is from thee, so give me grace to use it for thee.

And though I am not suffered to be master of my other Rights as a King, yet preserve me in that liberty of Reason, love of Religion, and thy Churches welfare, which are fixed in my Conscience as a Christian.

Preserve, from sacrilegious invasions, those temporal blessings, which thy providence hath bestowed on thy Church for thy glory.

Forgive their sins and errours, who have deserved thy just permission, thus to let in the wilde Boar, and subtile Foxes, to waste and deform thy Vineyard, which thy right hand hath planted, and the dew of Heaven so long watered to a happy and flourishing estate.

O let me not bear the infamous brand, to all posterity, of being the first Christian King in this Kingdom, who should consent to the oppression of thy Church, and the Fathers of it: whose errours I would rather, with Constantine, cover with silence, and reform with meeknesse, then expose their persons, and sacred Functions, to vulgar contempt.

Thou, O Lord, seest how much I have suffered with, and for thy Church; make no long tarrying, O my God, to deliver both me and it from unreasonable men, whose counsels have brought forth, and continue such violent confusions, by a precipitant destroying the ancient boundaries of thy Churches peace, thereby letting in all manner of errours, schisms, and disorders.

O ihou God of Order, and of Truth, in thy good time abate the malice, assuage the rage, and confound all the mischievous devices of thine, mine, and thy Churches enemies.

That I, and all that love thy Church, may sing praises to thee, and ever magnifie thy salvation, even before the sons of men.

XVIII. Upon Uxbridge-Treaty, and other Offers made by the King.

I Look upon the way of Treaties, as a retiring from fighting like Beasts, to arguing like Men, whose strength should be more in their understandings, then in their limbs.

And though I could seldom get opportunities to Treat, yet I never wanted either desire or disposition to it, having greater confidence of My Reason, then My sword: I was so wholly resolved to yield to the first, that I thought neither My self, nor others, should need to use the second, if once we rightly understood each other.

Nor did I ever think it a diminution of Me, to prevent them with expresses of My desires, and even importunities to Treat: It being an office, not onely of humanity, rather to use Reason, then Force; but also of Christianity, to *seek peace and ensue it.*

As I am very unwillingly compelled to defend My self with Arms, so I very willingly embraced any thing tending to peace.

The events of all War by the Sword being very dubious, and of a Civil War uncomfortable; the end hardly recompensing, and late repairing the mischief of the means.

Nor did any successe I had, ever enhaunce with Me the price of peace, as earnestly desired by Me, as any man: though I was like to pay dearer for it then any man: All that I sought to reserve was, Mine Honour, and My Conscience; the one I could not part with as a KING, the other as a Christian.

The Treaty at Uxbridge gave the fairest hopes of an happy composure; had others applyed themselves to it with the same moderation as I did, I am confident the War had then ended.

I was willing to condescend, as far as Reason, Honour and Conscience would give Me leave; nor were the remaining differences so essential to My peoples happinesse, or of such consequence, as in the least kinde to have hindred My Subjects either security or prosperity; for they better enjoyed both, many years before ever those demands were made; some of which, to deny, I think the greatest Justice to My Self, and Favour to My Subjects.

I see, Jealousies are not so easily allayed, as they are raised: Some men are more affraid to retreat from violent Engagements, then to Engage; what is wanting in equity, must be made up in pertinacy. Such as had little to enjoy in peace, or to lose in war, studied to render the very name of *peace* odious and suspected.

In Church affairs, where I had least liberty of prudence, having so many strict ties of Conscience upon Me; yet I was willing to condescend so far to the settling of them, as might have given fair satisfaction to all men, whom faction, covetousnesse, or superstition, had not engaged more, then any true zeal, charity, or love of Reformation.

I was content to yeeld to all that might seem to advance true piety; I onely sought to continue what was necessary in point of Order, Maintenance, and Authority, to the Churches Government; and what I am perswaded (as I have elsewhere set down My thoughts more fully) is more agreeable to the true principles of all Government, raised to its full stature and perfection; as also to the Primitive Apostolical patern, and the practice of the Universal Church conform thereto.

From which wholly to recede, without any probable reason urged or answered, onely to satisfie some mens wils and fantasies (which yet agree not among themselves in any point, but that of extirpating Episcopacy, and fighting against Me) must needs argue
such

such a softnesse, and infirmity of minde in Me, as will rather part with Gods truth, then Mans peace; and rather lose the Churches honour, then crosse some mens factious humours.

God knows, and time will discover, who were most to blame for the un-successefulness of that Treaty, and who must bear the guilt of after calamities. I believe, I am very excusable both before God, and all unpassionate men, who have seriously weighed those transactions, wherein I endeavoured no lesse the restauration of peace to My people, then the preservation of My own Crowns to My Posterity.

Some men have that height, as to interpret all fair condescending, as Arguments of feebleness, and glory most in an unflexible stiffenesse, when they see others most supple and inclinable to them.

A grand Maxime with them was, alwayes to ask something, which in reason and honour must be denied, that they might have some colour to refuse all that was in other things granted; setting peace at as high a rate, as the worst effects of War; endeavouring first to make Me destroy My Self by dishonourable Concessions, that so they might have the lesse to do.

This was all which that Treaty, or any other produced, to let the World see, how little I would deny, or they grant, in order to the publick peace.

That it gave occasion to some mens further restiveness, is imputable to their own depraved tempers, not to any Concessions or Negations of Mine: I have alwayes the content of what I offered, and they the regret and blame for what they refused.

The highest tide of successe set Me not above a Treaty, nor the lowest ebbe below a Fight: Though I never thought it any signe of true valour, to be prodigal of mens lives, rather then to be drawn to produce our own reasons, or subscribe to other mens.

That which made Me for the most part presage the

unsuccessfullnesse of any Treaty, was, some mens unwillingnesse to Treat: which implied some things were to be gained by the Sword, whose unreasonable-nesse they were loath to have fairly scanned, being more proper to bee acted by Souldiers, then by Counsellours.

I pray God forgive them that were guilty of that Treaties breaking; and give them grace to make their advantages gotten by the Sword, a better opportunity to use such moderation, as was then wanting; that so, though peace were for our sins justly deferred, yet at last it may be happily obtained; what we could not get by our Treaties, we may gain by our prayers.

O Thou, that art the God of Reason, and of Peace, who disdainest not to Treat with Sinners, preventing them with offers of atonement, and beseeching them to be reconciled with thy self: who wantest not power or justice, to destroy them; yet aboundest in mercy to save: soften our hearts by the blood of our Redeemer, and perswade us to accept of peace with thy self, and both to procure and preserve peace among our selves, as Men and Christians: How oft have I intreated for peace, but when I speak thereof, they make them ready to war?

Condemn us not to our passions, which are destructive, both of our selves, and of others.

Clear up our understandings, to see thy truth, both in Reason, as Men, and in Religion, as Christians: and incline all our hearts to hold the unity of the Spirit, in the bond of peace.

Take from us that enmity which is now in our hearts against thee: and give us that charity which should be among our selves.

Remove the evils of War we have deserved, and bestow upon us that peace, which onely Christ our peace-maker can merit.

XIX. Upon

XIX. *Upon the various events of the War ;
Victories, and Defeats.*

THe various Successes of this unhappy War, have at least, afforded Me variety of good Meditations : Sometimes God was pleased to try Me with Victory, by worsting My Enemies, that I might know how with moderation and thanks to own, and use his power, who is onely the true *Lord of Hosts* ; able when he pleases to repress the confidence of those , that fought against Me with so great advantages for power and number.

From small beginnings on My part he let Me see, that I was not wholly forsaken by My peoples love, or his protection.

Other times God was pleased to exercise My patience, and teach Me not to trust in the arm of Flesh, but in the living God.

My sins sometimes prevailed against the injustice of My Cause : and those that were with Me , wanted not matter and occasion for his just chastisement both of them and Me : Nor were My Enemies lesse punished by that prosperity, which hardened them to continue that injustice by open hostility, which was begun by most riotous and unparliamentary tumults.

There is no doubt, but personal and private sins may oft-times over-balance the justice of publick Engagements ; nor doth God account every gallant man (in the Worlds esteem) a fit instrument to assert in the way of War , a righteous Cause ; The more men are prone to arrogate to their own skill, valour and strength, the lesse doth God ordinarily work by them for his own glory.

I am sure the event or successe can never state the Justice of any Cause , nor the peace of mens Consciences, nor the eternal fate of their Souls.

Those with Me had (I think) clearly and undoubtedly, for their Justification, the Word of God, and the Laws of the Land, together with their own Oaths; all requiring obedience to My just commands; but to none other under Heaven without Me, or against Me, in the point of raising Arms.

Those on the other side are forced to flie to the shifts of some pretended Fears, and wilde fundamentals of State (as they call them) which actually overthrow the present fabrick, both of Church and State; being such imaginary Reasons for self-defence, as are most impertinent for those men to alledge, who being My Subjects were manifestly the first assaulters of Me and the Laws: first by unsuppressing the Tumults, after by lifted Forces: The same Allegations they use, will fit any Faction that hath but power and confidence enough to second with the Sword, all their demands against the present Laws and Governours; which can never be such, as some side or other will not finde fault with, so as to urge what they call a Reformation of them, to a Rebellion against them; some Parasitick Preachers have dared to call those Martyrs, who died fighting against Me, the Laws, their Oathes, and the Religion established.

But sober Christians know, That glorious Title, can with truth be applyed onely to those, who sincerely preferred Gods Truth, and their duty in all these particulars before their lives, and all that was dear to them in this World: who having no advantageous designs by any Innovation, were religiously sensible of those ties to God, the Church, and My Self, which lay upon their Souls, both for obedience and just assistance.

God could, and I doubt not but he did, through his mercy, crown many of them with eternal life, whose lives were lost in so just a Cause; The destruction of their bodies being sanctified, as a means to save their Souls.

Their wounds, and temporal ruine, serving as a

gracious opportunity for their eternal health and happinesse; while the evident approach of death did through Gods grace, effectually dispose their hearts to such Humility, Faith, and Repentance, which together with the rectitude of their present engagement, would fully prepare them for a better life than that, which their enemies brutish and disloyal fiercenesse could deprive them of; or without repentance hope to enjoy.

They have often indeed, had the better against My side in the Field, but never, I believe, at the bar of Gods Tribunal, or their own Consciences; where they are more afraid to encounter those many pregnant Reasons, both from Law, Allegiance, and all true Christian grounds, which conflict *with*, and accuse them *in* their own thoughts, then they oft were in a desperate bravery to fight against those Forces, which sometimes God gave Me.

Whose condition conquered, and dying, I make no question, but is infinitely more to be chosen by a sober man, (that duly values his duty, his soul, and eternity, beyond the enjoyments of this present life) then the most triumphant glory, wherein their and mine Enemies supervive; who can hardly avoid to be daily tormented by that horrid guilt, wherewith their suspicious, or now convicted Consciences do pursue them; especially since they and all the World have seen, how false and un-intended those pretensions were, which they first set forth, as the onely plausible (though not justifiable) grounds of raising a War, and continuing it thus long against Me, and the Laws established; in whose safety and preservation all honest men think the welfare of their Countrey doth consist.

For, and with all which it is far more honourable and comfortable to suffer, then to prosper in their ruine and subversion.

I have often prayed, that all on My side might joyn
true

true piety with the sense of their Loyalty; and be as faithful to God and their own Souls, as they were to Me. That the defects of the one might not blast the endeavours of the other.

Yet I cannot think, that any shews, or truth of piety on the other side were sufficient to dispence with, or expiate the defects of their Duty and Loyalty to Me, which have so pregnant convictions on mens consciences, that even profaner men are moved by the sense of them to venture their lives for Me.

I never had any victory which was without My sorrow, because it was on My own Subjects, who like *Abolom*, died many of them in their sin: And yet I never suffered any Defeat, which made Me despair of Gods mercy and defence.

I never desired such Victories, as might serve to conquer, but onely restore the Laws and Liberties of My people; which I saw were extreamly oppressed, together with My Rights, by those men, who were impatient of any just restraint.

When Providence gave Me, or denied Me Victory, My desire was neither to boast of My power, nor to charge God foolishly; who I believed at last would make all things to work together for My good.

I wished no greater advantages by the War, then to bring My Enemies to moderation, and My Friends to peace.

I was afraid of the temptation of an absolute conquest, and never prayed more for victory over others, then over my self. When the first was denied, the second was granted Me, which God saw best for Me.

The different events were but the methods of Divine Justice, by contrary windes to winnow us: That, by punishing our sins, he might purge them from us; and by deferring peace, he might prepare us more to prize, and better to use so great a blessing.

My often Messages for peace shewed, that I delighted not in War: as My former Concessions sufficiently testified, how willingly I would have prevented it; and My total unpreparednesse for it, how little I intended it.

The conscience of My Innocency forbade Me to fear a War; but the love of My Kingdoms commanded Me (if possible) to avoid it.

I am guilty in this War of nothing, but this, That I gave such advantages to some men, by confirming their power, which they knew not to use with that modesty and gratitude, which became their Loyalty and My confidence.

Had I yeilded lesse, I had been opposed lesse; had I denied more, I had been more obeyed.

'Tis now too late to review the occasions of the War; I wish onely a happy conclusion, of so unhappy beginnings: The unevitable fate of our sins was (no doubt) such, as would no longer suffer the Divine Justice to be quiet: we having conquered his patience, are condemned by mutual conquerings, to destroy one another: for the most prosperous successes on either side, impair the welfare of the whole.

Those Victories are still miserable, that leave our sin un-subdued; flushing our pride, and animating to continue injuries.

Peace it self is not desireable, till repentance have prepared us for it.

When we fight more against our selves, and lesse against God, we shall cease fighting one against another; I pray God these may all meet in our hearts, and so dispose us to an happy conclusion of these Civil Wars; that I may know better to obey God, and govern My people, and they may learn better to obey both God and Me.

Nor do I desire any man should be further subject to Me, then all of us may be subject to God.

O my God, make me content to be overcome, when thou wilt have it so.

Teach me the noblest victory over my self, and my Enemies, by patience; which was Christs conquest, and may well become a Christian King.

Between both thy hands, the right sometimes supporting, and the left afflicting; fashion us to that frame of piety thou likest best.

Forgive the pride that attends our prosperous, and the repinings, which follow our disastrous events; when going forth in our strength, thou withdrawest thine, and goest not forth with our Armies.

Be thou all, when we are something, and when we are nothing; that thou mayest have the glory, when we are in a victorious or inglorious condition.

Thou O Lord knowest, how hard it is for me to suffer so much evil from my Subjects, to whom I intend nothing but good; and I cannot but suffer in those evils which they compel me to inflict upon them, punishing my self in their punishments.

Since therefore both in conquering, and being conquered, I am still a sufferer; I beseech thee to give me a double portion of thy Spirit, and that measure of grace, which only can be sufficient for me.

As I am most afflicted, so make me most reformed; that I may be not onely happy to see an end of those civil distractions, but a chief instrument to restore and establish a firm and blessed peace to my Kingdoms.

Stir up all parties pious ambitions to overcome each other with reason, moderation, and such self-denial, as becomes those, who consider, that our mutual divisions are our common distractions, and the Union of all, is every good mans chiefest interest.

If, O Lord, as for the sins of our peace, thou hast brought upon us the miseries of War; so for the sins of War, thou shouldst see fit still to deny us the blessing of peace, and so to keep us in a circulation of miseries; yet give me thy servant, and all Loyal, though afflicted Subjects, to enjoy that

that peace which the world can neither give to us, nor take from us.

Impute not to me the blood of my Subjects, which with infinite unwillingnesse and grief, hath been shed by me, in my just and necessary defence; but wash me with that precious blood, which hath been shed for me by my great Peace-maker, Jesus Christ. Who will, I trust, redeem me shortly out of all my troubles; for, I know the triumphing of the wicked is but short, and the joy of Hypocrites is but for a moment.

XX. Upon the Reformation of the Times.

NO glory is more to be envied, then that of due reforming either Church or State, when deformities are such, that the perturbation and novelty are not like to exceed the benefit of Reforming.

Although God should not honour Me so far, as to make Me an Instrument of so good a work, yet I should be glad to see it done.

As I was well pleased with this Parliaments first intentions, to reform what the indulgence of Times, and corruption of Manners might have depraved; so I am sorry to see, after the freedom of Parliament was by factious Tumults oppressed, how little regard was had to the good Laws established, and the Religion settled, which ought to be the first rule and standard of reforming: with how much partiality, and popular compliance, the passions and opinions of men have been gratified, to the detriment of the Publick, and the infinite scandal of the Reformed Religion.

What dissolutions of all Order, and Government in the Church; what novelties of Schisms and corrupt opinions; what undecencies and confusions in Sacred Administrations; what sacrilegious invasions upon the Rights and Revenues of the Church; what contempt and oppressions of the Clergy; what inju-
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rious diminutions and persecutings of Me, have followed (as showres do warm gleams) the talk of Reformation, all sober men are Witnesses, and with My self, sad Spectators hitherto.

The greater miscarriage I think is, that popular clamours and fury, have been allowed the reputation of Zeal, and the publick sense; so that the study to please some parties, hath indeed injured all.

Freedom, Moderation, and Impartiality, are sure the best Tempers of Reforming Councils and endeavours: What is acted by Factions, cannot but offend more then it pleaseth.

I have offered to put all differences in Church affairs and Religion, to the free consultation of a Synod or Convocation rightly chosen; the results of whose Councils, as they would have included the Votes of all, so its like they would have given most satisfaction to all.

The Assembly of Divines, whom the two Houses have applyed (in an unwonted way) to advise of Church affairs, I dislike not further, then that they are not legally convened and chosen, nor act in the name of all the Clergy of *England*; nor with freedom and impartiality can do any thing, being limited and confined, if not over-awed, to do and declare what they do.

For I cannot think so many men, cried up for Learning and Piety, who formerly allowed the Liturgy and Government of the Church of *England*, as to the main, would have so suddenly agreed quite to abolish both of them; (the last of which they knew to be of Apostolical institution at least; as of Primitive and Universal practice) if they had been left to the liberty of their own suffrages; and if the influence of contrary Factions had not by secret encroachments of hopes, and fears, prevailed upon them, to comply with so great and dangerous Innovations in the Church; without any regard

gard to their former judgement and practice, or to the common interest and honour of all the Clergy, and in them, of Order, Learning and Religion, against examples of all ancient Churches; the Laws in force, and My consent, which is never to be gained, against so pregnant light, as in that point shines on My understanding.

For I conceive, that where the Scripture is not so clear and punctual in precepts, there the constant and Universal practice of the Church, in things not contrary to Reason, Faith, good Manners, or any positive Command, is the best Rule that Christians can follow.

I was willing to grant, or restore to Presbytery, what with Reason or Discretion it can pretend to, in a conjuncture with Episcopacy; but for that wholly to invade the power, and by the Sword to arrogate, and quite abrogate the Authority of that ancient Order, I think neither just, as to Episcopacy, nor safe for Presbytery, nor yet any way convenient for this Church or State.

A due reformation had easily followed moderate Counsels; and such (I believe) as would have given more content, even to the most of those Divines, who have been led on with much Gravity and Formality, to carry on other mens designs: which no doubt many of them by this time discover, though they dare not but smother their frustrations and contents.

The specious and popular titles of Christs Government, Throne, Scepter and Kingdom (which certainly is not divided, nor hath two faces, as their parties now have, at least) also the noise of a through Reformation, these may as easily be fined on new models, as fair colours may be put to ill-favoured figures.

The breaking of Church-windows, which Time had sufficiently defaced; pulling down of Crosses,
(which

which were but Civil, not Religious marks ; defacing of the Monuments, and Inscriptions of the Dead, which served but to put posterity in minde, to thank God for that clearer light wherein they live ; the leaving of all Ministers to their liberties and private abilities, in the publick service of God, where no Christian can tell to what he may say, *Amen* ; nor what adventure he may make, of seeming, at least, to consent to the Errors, Blasphemies, and ridiculous Undecencies, which bold and ignorant men list to vent in their Prayers, Preaching, and other Offices The setting forth also of old Catechisms, and Confessions of Faith new drest, importing as much, as if there had been no sound, and clear Doctrine of Faith in this Church, before some four or five years Consultation had matured their thoughts, touching their first Principles of Religion.

All these and the like, are the effects of popular, specious and deceitfull Reformations (that they might not seem to have nothing to do) and may give some short flashes of content to the Vulgar, (who are taken with novelties, as children with babies, very much, but not very long) but all this amounts not to, nor can in Justice merit the glory of the Churches thorow Reformation ; since they leave all things more deformed, disorderly, and discontented, then when they began, in point of Piety, Morality, Charity, and good Order.

Nor can they easily recompence or remedy the inconveniences and mischiefs, which they have purchased so dearly, and which have, and ever will necessarily ensue, till due remedies be applied.

I wish they would at last, make it their unanimous work, to do Gods work, and not their own : Had Religion been first considered (as it merited) much trouble might have been prevented.

But some men thought, that the Government of this Church anst State, fixed by so many Laws, and long

long Customs, would not run into their new moulds, till they had first melted it in the fire of a Civil War : by the advantages of which, they resolved, if they prevailed, to make My self, and all My Subjects, fall down and worship the Images they should form and set up : If there had been as much of Christs Spirit, for meeknesse, wisdom, and charity, in mens hearts, as there was of his name used in the Pretensions, to reform all to Christs Rule, it would certainly have obtained more of Gods blessing, and produced more of Christs Glory, the Churches good, and the Honour of Religion, and the Unity of Christians.

Publick Reformers had need first act in private, and practise that on their own hearts, which they purpose to try on others ; for Deformities within, will soon betray the Pretenders of publick Reformation to such private designs as must needs hinder the publick good.

I am sure the right methods of Reforming the Church, cannot consist with that of perturbing the Civil state, nor can Religion be justly advanced by depressing Loyalty, which is one of the chiefest Ingredients, and ornaments of true Religion ; for, next to *Fear God, is, Honour the King.*

I doubt not but Christs kingdom may be set up, without pulling down Mine ; nor will any men in impartial times appear good Christians, that approve not themselves good Subjects.

Christs government will confirm Mine, not overthrow it ; since as I own mine from him, so I desire to rule for his Glory, and his Churches good.

Had some men truly intended Christs Government, or knew what it meant, in their hearts, they could never been so ill governed in their words and actions, both against Me, and one another.

As good ends cannot justify evil means, so nor will evil beginnings ever bring forth good conclusions ;

fions ; unlesse God, by a miracle of Mercy, create Light out of Darknesse, Order out of our Confusions, and peace out of our passions.

Thou, O Lord, who onely canst give us beauty for ashes, and Truth for Hypocrisie ; suffer us not to be miserably deluded with Pharisaical washings, in stead of Christian reformings.

Our greatest deformities are within, make us the severest Censurers, and first Reformers of our own souls.

That we may in clearnesse of judgement, and uprightness of heart, be a means to reform what is indeed amisse in Church and State.

Create in us clean hearts, O Lord, and renew right spirits within us ; that we may do all by thy directions, to thy glory, and with thy blessing.

Pity the deformities, which some rash and cruel Reformers have brought upon this Church and State ; quench the fires which Factions have kindled, under the pretence of reforming.

As thou hast shewed the world by their divisions, and confusions, what is the pravity of some mens intentions, and weaknesse of their judgements, so bring us at last more refined out of these fires, by the methods of Christian and charitable Reformations ; wherein nothing of ambition, revenge, covetousnesse, or sacriledge, may have any influence upon their counsels, whom thy providence in just and lawful wayes shall intrust with so great, good, and now most necessary work. That I and my people may be so blest with inward piety, as may best teach us how to use the blessing of outward peace.

XXI. Upon His Majesties Letters taken and divulged.

THe taking of My Letters was an opportunity, which, as the malice of Mine Enemies could hardly

hardly have expected ; so they know not how with honour and civility to use it : Nor do I think , with sober and worthy mindes , any thing in them , could tend so much to My reproach , as the odious divulging of them did to the infamy of the Divulgers : The greatest experiments of Vertue and Nobleneffe , being discovered in the greatest advantages against an enemy , and the greatest obligations , being those , which are put upon us by them , from whom we could least have expected them.

And such I should have esteemed the concealing of My papers ; the freedom and secrecie of which , commands a civility from all men , not wholly barbarous ; nor is there any thing more inhumane , then to expose them to publick view.

Yet since Providence will have it so , I am content so much of My heart (which I study to approve to Gods omniscience) should bee discovered to the World , without any of those dressees , or popular captations , which some men use in their Speeches and Expresses ; I wish My Subjects had yet a clearer sight into my most retired thoughts.

Where they might discover , how they are divided between the love and care I have , not more to preserve My own Rights , then to procure their peace and happinesse , and that extream grief , to see them both deceived and destroyed.

Nor can any mens malice be gratified further by My Letters , then to see My constancy to My Wife , the Laws , and Religion. Bees will gather Honey where the Spider sucks Poison.

That I endeavour to avoid the pressures of My Enemies , by all fair and just correspondencies ; no man can blame Me , who loves Me , or the Commonwealth , since My Subjects can hardly be happy if I be miserable , or enjoy their peace and liberties while I am oppressed.

The Word may see how soon mens designe , like
Abfoloms,

Absaloms, is by enormous actions to widen differences, and exasperate all sides to such distances, as may make all reconciliation desperate.

Yet I thank God I can not onely with patience bear this, as other indignities, but with charity forgive them.

The integrity of My intentions is not jealous of any injury My expressions can do them, for although the confidence of privacy may admit greater freedom in writing such Letters, which may be liable to envious expressions; yet the innocency of My chief purposes cannot be so obtained, or mis-interpreted by them, as not to let all men see, that I wish nothing more then an happy composure of differences with Justice and Honour, not more to My own, then My peoples content, who have any sparks of Love or Loyalty left in them: who, by those My Lettters may be convinced, that I can both minde and a^d, My own and My Kingdoms Affairs, so as becomes a Prince; which Mine Enemies have alwayes been very loath should be believed of Me, as if I were wholly confined to the Dictates and Directions of others whom they please to brand with the names of Evil Counsellours.

Its probable some men will now look upon Me as My own Counsellour, and having none else to quarrel with, under that notion, they will hereafter confine their anger to My Self: Although I know they are very unwilling I should enjoy the liberty of My own Thoughts, or follow the light of My own Conscience, which they labour to bring into an absolute captivity to themselves; not allowing Me to think their Counsels to be other then good for Me, which have so long maintained a War against Me.

The Victory they obtained that day, when My Letters became their prize, had been enough to have satiated the most ambitious thirst of popular glory among the Vulgar; with whom prosperity

gains

gains the greatest esteem and applause, as diversity exposeth to their greatest slighting and dis-respect : As if good fortune were alwayes the shadow of Vertue and Justice, and did not oftner attend vitious and injurious actions, as to this World.

But I see no secular advantages seem sufficient to that cause which began with Tumults, and depends chiefly upon the reputation with the Vulgar.

They think no Victories so effectual to their designs as those, that most rout and waste My credit with My people ; in whose hearts they seek by all means to smother and extinguish all sparks of Love, Respect, and Loyalty to Me, that they may never kindle again, so as to recover Mine, the Laws, and the Kingdoms Liberties, which some men seek to overthrow : The taking away of My Credit, is but a necessary preparation to the taking away of My life, and My Kingdoms : First, I must seem neither fit to Live, nor worthy to Reign ; by exquisite methods of cunning and cruelty, I must be compelled first to follow the Funerals of My Honour, and then be destroyed : But I know Gods un-erring and impartial Justice, can and will over-rule the most perverse wils and designs of men ; He is able, and (I hope) will turn even the best of Mine Enemies thoughts and actions to My good.

Nor do I think that by the surprize of My Letters, I have lost any more then so many papers : How much they have lost of that reputation, for Civility and Humanity (which ought to be paid to all men, and most becomes such as pretend to Religion) besides that of respect and honour, which they owe to their King, present and after-times will judge. And I cannot think that their own consciences are so stupid, as not to inflict upon them some secret impressions of that shame and dishonour, which attends all unworthy actions, have they never so much of publick flattery, and popular countenance.

I am sure they can never expect the Divine approbation of such indecent actions, if they do but remember how God blest the modest respect and filial tenderneſſe which *Noahs* Sons bare to their Father; nor did his open infirmity juſtifie *Chams* impudency, or exempt him from that curſe of being *Servant of Servants*; which curſe muſt needs be on them who ſeek by diſhonourable actions to pleaſe the Vulgar, and confirm by ignoble acts, their dependance upon the people.

Nor can their malicious intentions be ever either excuſable or prosperous, who thought, by this means, to expoſe me to the higheſt reproach and contempt of My people; forgetting that duty of mo-deſt concealment, which they owed to the Father of their Countrey, in caſe they had diſcovered any real uncomelineſſe, which, I thank God, they did not; who can, and I believe, hath made me more reſpected in the hearts of many (as he did *David*) to whom they thought, by puniſhing My private Letters, to have rendred Me as a vile perſon, not fit to be truſted, or conſidered under any notion of Ma-jeſty.

But thou, O Lord, whoſe wiſe and all-diſpoſing providence, ordereth the greateſt contingencies of humane affairs; make me to ſee the conſtancy of thy mercies to me, in the greateſt advantages thou ſeemeſt to give the malice of my Enemies againſt me.

As thou didſt blaſt the counſel of *Achitophel*, turning it to *David*s good, and his own ruine: ſo canſt thou defeat their deſigne, who intended by publiſhing my private Letters, nothing elſe, but to render me more odious and contemptible to my people.

I muſt firſt appeal to thy Omnſcience, who canſt witneſſe with my integrity, how unjuſt and falſe thoſe ſcandalous miſconſtructions are, which my enemies endeavour by thoſe papers of mine, to repreſent to the world.

Make

Make the evil they imagined, and displeasure they intended thereby against me, so to return on their own heads, that they may be ashamed, and covered with their own confusion, as with a cloak.

Thou seest how mine enemies use all means to cloud mine Honour, to pervert my purposes, and to slander the footsteps of thine Anointed.

But give me an heart content to be dishonoured for thy sake, and thy Churches good.

Fix in me a purpose to honour thee, and then I know thou wilt honour me, either by restoring to me the enjoyment of that power and Majesty, which thou hast suffered some men to seek to deprive me of; or by bestowing on me that crown of Christian patience, which knowes how to serve thee in honour or dishonour, in good report or evil.

Thou, O Lord, art the Fountain of goodnesse and honour, thou art clothed with excellent Majesty; make me to partake of thy excellency for wisdom, justice, and mercy, and I shall not want that degree of Honour and Majesty, which becomes the place in which thou hast set me; who art the lifter up of my head, and my salvation.

Lord, by thy Grace, lead me to thy Glory, which is both true and Eternal.

XXII. Upon His Majesties leaving Oxford, and going to the Scots.

Although God hath given Me three Kingdoms, yet in these He hath not now left Me any place, where I may with Safety and Honour rest My Head; shewing Me, that himself is the safest Refuge, and the strongest Tower of Defence, in which I may put My Trust.

In these extremities, I look not to man so much as to God, He will have it thus; that I may wholly cast My self, and My now distressed affairs upon his mercy,

mercy; who hath both hearts and hands of all men in his dispose.

What Providence denies to Force, it may grant to Prudence: Necessity is now My Counsellour, and commands Me to study My safety, by a disguised withdrawing from My chiefest strength, and adventuring upon their loyalty, who first began My troubles. Happily God may make them a means honourably to compose them.

This My confidence of Them, may disarm and overcome them: My rendring My person to Them, may engage their affections to Me, who have oft professed, *They fought not against Me, but for Me.*

I must now resolve the riddle of their Loyalty, and give them opportunity to let the World see, they mean not what they do, but what they say.

Yet must God be My chiefest Guard; and My Conscience both My Counsellour and My Comforter: Though I put My body into their hands, yet I shall reserve My Soul to God and My self; nor shall any necessities compel Me to desert Mine honour, or swerve from My Judgement.

What they sought to take by force, shall now be given them in such a way of unusual confidence of them, as may make them ashamed not to be really such, as they ought and professed to be.

God sees it not enough, to deprive Me of all Military power to defend My self; but to put Me upon using their power, who seem to fight against Me, yet ought in duty to defend Me.

So various are all humane affairs, and so necessitous may the state of Princes be, that their greatest danger may be in their supposed safety, and their safety in their supposed danger.

I must now leave those that have adhered to Me, and apply to those that have Opposed Me; this method of peace may be more prosperous then that of War, both to stop the effusion of blood, and to close those

those wounds already made : And in it I am no lesse solicitous for My Friends safety, then Mine own ; chusing to venture My self upon further hazards, rather then expose their resolute Loyalty to all extremities.

It is some skill in play, to know when a game is lost ; better fairly to give over, then to contest in vain.

I must now study to re-inforce My judgement, and fortifie My minde with Reason and Religion ; that I may not seem to offer up My Souls Liberty, or make My Conscience their Captive ; who ought at first to have used Arguments, not Arms, to have perswaded My consent to their new demands.

I thank God, no successe darkens or disguises Truth to Me ; and I shall no lesse conform My words to My inward dictates now, then if they had been, as the words of a King ought to be among Loyal Subjects, *full of power.*

Reason is the Divinest powar : I shall never think My self weakned, while I may make full and free use of that. No eclipse of outward fortune shall rob Me of that light ; what God hath denied of outward strength, his grace, I hope, will supply with inward resolutions ; not morosely to deny what is fit to be granted, but not to grant any thing, which Reason and Religion bids Me deny.

I shall never think My self lesse then My self, while I am able thus to preserve the Integrity of My Conscience, the onely Jewel now left Me, which is worth keeping.

O thou Sovereign of Souls, the onely Commander of our Consciences ; though I know not what to do, yet mine eyes are toward thee : To the protection of thy mercy I still commend my self.

As thou hast preserved me in the day of Battel, so thou canst still shew me thy strength in my weaknesse.

Be

Be thou unto me in my darkest night a pillar of fire , to enlighten and direct me ; in the day of my hottest affliction, be also a pillar of cloud to overshadow and protect me; be to me both a Sun and a Shield.

Thou knowest , that it is not any perverseness of Will, but just persuasions of Honour , Reason , and Religion, which have made me thus far to hazard my person, peace, and safety, against those, that by force have sought to wrest them from me.

Suffer not my just Resolutions to abate with my outward Forces ; let a good Conscience alwayes accompany me , in my solitude and desertions.

Suffer me not to betray the powers of Reason , and that fortresse of my Soul, which I am intrusted to keep for thee.

Lead me in the paths of thy righteousness , and shew me thy salvation.

Make my wayes to please thee, and then thou wilt make mine Enemies to be at peace with me.

XXIII. Upon the Scots delivering the KING. to the English, and His Captivity at Holmby.

YET may I justifie those Scots to all the World in this, that they have not deceived Me, for I never trusted to them further then to men : If I am sold by them, I am onely sorry they should do it ; and that My price should be so much above My Saviours.

These are but further Essays, which God will have Me make of mans uncertainty, the more to fix Me on himself, who never faileth them that trust in him : Though the Reeds of Egypt break under the hand of him that leans on them ; yet the Rock of Israel will be an everlasting stay and defence.

Gods providence commands Me to retire from all to himself, that in him I may enjoy My self, which I lose, while I let out My hopes to others.

The

The solitude and captivity to which I am now reduced, gives Me leisure enough to study the Worlds vanity and inconstancy.

God sees 'tis fit to deprive Me of Wife, Children, Army, Friends, and Freedom, that I may be wholly his, who alone is all.

I care not much to be reckoned among the unfortunate, if I be not in the black List of irreligious and sacrilegious Princes.

No Restraint shall ensnare My Soul in sin ; nor gain that of Me, which may make My Enemies more insolent, My Friends ashamed, or My Name accursed.

They have no great cause to triumph, that they have got My person into their power ; since My Soul is still Mine own : nor shall they ever gain My consent against My Conscience.

What they call obstinacy, I know God accounts honest constancy, from which Reason and Religion, as well as Honour, forbid Me to recede.

'Tis evident now, that it was not Evil Counsellors with Me, but a good Conscience in Me, which hath been fought against ; nor did they ever intend to bring Me to My Parliament, till they had brought My minde to their obedience.

Should I grant what some Men desire, I should be such as they wish Me ; not more a King, and far lesse both Man and Christian.

What Tumults and Armies could not obtain, neither shall Restraint ; which, though it have as little of safety to a Prince, yet it hath not more of danger.

The fear of men shall never be My snare, nor shall the love of any liberty entangle My soul : Better others betray Me, then My self : and that the price of My liberty should be My Conscience ; the greatest injuries My Enemies seek to inflict upon Me, cannot be without My own consent.

While I can deny with Reason, I shall defeat the greatest impressions of their malice, who neither

know how to use worthily, what I have already granted; nor what to require more of Me but this, That I would seem willing to help them to destroy My self and Mine.

Although they should destroy Me, yet they shall have no cause to despise Me.

Neither liberty nor life are so dear to Me, as the peace of My Conscience, the Honour of My Crowns, and the welfare of My people; which My Word may injure, more then any War can do; while I gratifie a few to oppresse all.

The Laws will, by Gods blessing, revive, with the Love and Loyalty of My Subjects; if I bury them not by My consent, and cover them in that grave of dishonour and injustice, which some mens violence hath digged for them.

If My captivity or death must be the price of their Redemption, I grudge not to pay it.

No condition can make a King miserable, which carries not with it, His Souls, His Peoples, and Posterities thralldom.

After-times may see, what the blindness of this Age will not; and God may at length shew My Subjects, that I chuse rather to suffer for them, then with them: happily I might redeem My self to some shew of liberty, if I would consent to enslave them; I had rather hazard the ruine of one King, then to confirm many Tyrants over them; from whom I pray God deliver them, whatever becomes of Me, whose solitude hath not left Me alone.

For thou, O God, infinitely good and great, art with me, whose presence is better then life, and whose service is perfect freedom.

Own me for thy Servant, and I shall never have cause to complain for want of that liberty, which becomes a Man, a Christian, and a King

Blesse me still with Reason, as a Man; with Religion,
as

as a Christian; and with constancy in Justice, as a King.

Though thou sufferest me to be stript of all outward ornaments, yet preserve me ever in those enjoyments, wherein I may enjoy thy self, and which cannot be taken from me against my will.

Let no fire of affliction boyl over my passion to any impatience, or fondid fears.

There be many say of me, There is no help for me: do thou lift up the light of thy countenance upon me, and I shall never want safety, liberty, nor majesty.

Give me that measure of patience and constancy, which my condition now requires.

My strength is scattered, my expectation from men de-feared, my person restrained: O be thou not far from me, lest my Enemies prevail too much against me.

I am become a wonder, and a scorn to many: O be thou my Helper and Defender.

Show some token upon me for good, that they that hate me may be ashamed, because thou Lord hast holpen and comforted me: establish me with thy fire Spirit, that I may do, and suffer thy will, as thou wouldst have me.

Be merciful to me, O Lord, for my Soul trusteth in thee: yea, and in the shadow of thy wings will I make my refuge, until these calamities be overpast.

Arise to deliver me, make no long tarrying, O my God. Though thou killest me, yet will I trust in thy mercy, and my Saviours merit.

I know that my Redeemer liveth; though thou leadest me through the vale and shadow of death, yet shall I fear none ill.

XXIV. Upon their denying His Majesty the attendance of His Chaplains.

WHen Providence was pleased to deprive Me of all other civil comforts and secular Attendants, I thought the absence of them all might best

he supplied by the attendance of some of My Chaplains; whom for their Function I reverence, and for their Fidelity I have cause to love. By their learning, piety, and prayers, I hoped to be either better enabled to sustain the want of all other enjoyments, or better fitted for the recovery and use of them in Gods good time, so reaping by their pious help a spiritual harvest of grace amidst the thorns, and after the plowings of temporal crosses.

The truth is, I never needed or desired more the service and assistance of men judiciously pious, and soberly devout.

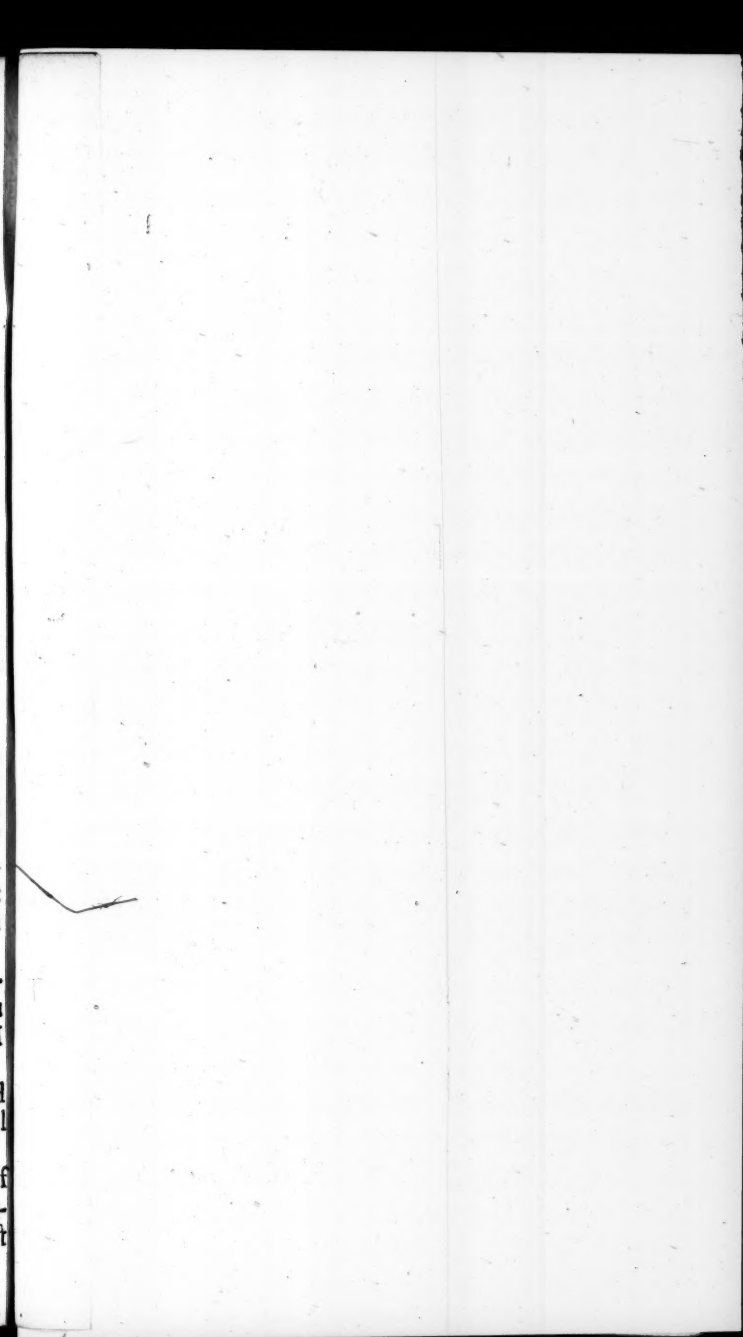
The solitude they have confined Me unto, adds the Wildernesse to My temptations; For the company they obtrude upon Me, is more sad then any solitude can be.

If I had asked My Revenues, My power of the *Miltia*, or any one of My Kingdoms, it had been no wonder to have been denied in those things, where the evil policy of men forbids all just restitution, lest they should confesse an injurious usurpation. But to deny Me the ghostly comfort of My Chaplains, seems a greater rigour and barbarity then is ever used by Christians to the meanest Prisoners, and greatest Malefactors; whom, though the justice of the Law deprive of worldly comforts, yet the mercy of Religion allows them the benefit of their Clergy, as not aiming at once to destroy their Bodies, and to damn their Souls.

But My Agony must not be relieved with the presence of any one good Angel; for such I account a Learned, Godly, and discreet Divine: and such I would have all Mine to be.

They, that envy My being a King, are loath I should be a Christian; while they seek to deprive Me of all things else, They are afraid I should save My Soul.

Other sense, Charity it self can hardly pick out of those many harsh Repulses I received, as to that Request





quest so often made for the attendance of some of My Chaplains.

I have sometime thought, the Unchristianness of of those denials, might arise from a displeasure some men had, to see Me prefer My own Divines before their Ministers: whom, though I respect for that worth and piety which may be in them; yet I cannot think them so proper for any present Comforters or Physitians, who (have some of them at least) had so great an influence in occasioning these calamities, and inflicting these wounds upon Me.

Nor are the soberest of them so apt for that devotional compliance and juncture of hearts, which I desire to bear in those holy Offices, to be performed with Me, and for Me; since their judgements standing at a distance from Me, or in jealousy of Me, or in opposition against Me, their Spirits cannot so harmoniously accord with Mine, or Mine with theirs, either in prayer, or other holy duties, as is meet, and most comfortable; whose golden Rule, and bond of perfection, consists in that of mutual Love and Charity.

Some remedies are worse then the disease, and some Comforters more miserable then misery it self; when like *Jobs* friends, they seek not to fortifie ones minde with patience; but perswade a man, by betraying his own Innocency, to despair of Gods mercy; and by justifying their injuries, to strengthen the hands, and harden the hearts of insolent Enemies.

I am so much a friend to all Church-men, that have any thing in them becomming that sacred Function, that I have hazarded My own Interest, chiefly upon Conscience and Constancy to maintain their Rights; whom, the more I looked upon, as Orphans, and under the sacrilegious eyes of many cruel and rapacious Reformers; so I thought it My duty the more to appear as a Father, and a Patron for them and the Church. Although I am very unhandsomely

requited by some of them ; who may live to repent no lesse for My sufferings, then their own ungrateful errors, and that injurious contempt and meannesse, which they have brought upon their Calling and Persons.

I pity all of them, I despise none : onely I thought I might have leave to make choise of some for My special Attendants, who were best approved in My Judgement, and most sutable to My affection. For, I held it better to seem undevout, and to hear no mens prayers, then to be forced, or seem to comply with those petitions, to which the heart cannot consent, nor the tongue say *Amen*, without contradicting a mans own understanding, or belying his own soul.

In Devotions, I love neither profane boldness, nor pious non-sense ; but such an humble and judicious gravity, as shews the Speaker to be at once confederate of Gods Majesty, the Churches Honour, and his own Vileness ; both knowing what things God allows him to ask, & in what manner it becomes a Sinner to supplicate the Divine Mercy for himself and others.

I am equally scandalized with all prayers, that found either imperiously, or rudely, and passionately ; as either wanting humility to God, or charity to Men, or respect to the duty.

I confesse I am better pleased, as with studied and premeditated Sermons, so with such publick Forms of Prayer, as are fitted to the Churches and every Christians daily and common necessities ; because I am by them better assured, what I may joyn My heart unto, then I can be of any mans extemporary sufficiency ; which, as I do not wholly exclude from publick occasions, so I allow its just liberty and use in private and devout retirements ; where neither the solemnity of the duty, nor the modest regard to others, do require so great exactnesse, as to the outward manner of performance. Though the light of understanding, and the fervency of affection, I hold the

main and most necessary requisites both in constant, and occasional, solitary, and social Devotions.

So that I must needs seem to all equal mindes, with as much Reason to prefer the service of My own Chaplains, before that of their Ministers, as I do the Liturgy before their Directory.

In the one, I have been alwayes educated and exercised; In the other, I am not yet Catechized, nor acquainted; And if I were, yet should I not by that, as by any certain rule and Canon of devotion, be able to follow or finde out the indirect extravagancies of most of those men, who highly cry up that as a piece of rare composure and use; which is already as much despised and disused by many of them, as the Common-prayer sometimes was by those men; a great part of whose piety hung upon that popular pin, of railing against, and contemning the Government, and Liturgy of this Church. But I had rather be condemned to the woe of *Vae soli*, then to that of *Vae vobis, Hypocritae*, by seeming to pray what I do not approve.

It may be, I am esteemed by My Denyers, sufficient of My self to discharge My duty to God as a Priest, though not to Men as a Prince.

Indeed, I think both Offices, Regal and Sacerdotal, might well become the same person; as ancient they were under one name, and the united rights of primogeniture: Nor could I follow better presidents, if I were able, then those two eminent Kings, *David* and *Solomon*; not more famous for their Scepters and Crowns, then one was for devout Psalms and Prayers; the other for his divine Parables, and Preaching: whence the one merited and assumed the name of a Prophet, the other of a Preacher. Titles indeed of greater honour, where rightly placed, then any of those the Roman Emperours affected from the Nations they subdued: it being infinitely more glorious, to convert Souls to Gods Church by the Word, then to conquer men to a subjection by the Sword.

Yet since the order of Gods wisdom and providence hath, for the most part, alwayes distinguished the gifts and offices of Kings, of Priests, of Princes and Preachers; both in the Jewish and Christian Churches; I am sorry to finde My self reduced to the necessity of being both, or injoying neither.

For such as seek to deprive Me of Kingly power and Sovereignty, would no lesse enforce Me to live many Moneths without all Prayers, Sacraments, and Sermons, unlesse I become My own Chaplain.

As I owe the Clergy the protection of a Christian King, so I desire to enjoy from them the benefit of their gifts & prayers; which I look upon as more prevalent then My own, or other mens; by how much they flow from mindes more enlightned, and affections lesse distracted, then those, which are encombred with secular affairs: besides, I think a greater blessing and acceptableness attends those duties, which are rightly performed, as proper to, and within the limits of that calling, to which God and the Church have specially designed and consecrated some men: And however, as to that spiritual Government, by which the devout Soul is subject to CHRIST, and through his merits daily offers it self and its services to God; every private believer is a King and Priest, invested with the honour of a Royal Priesthood; yet, as to Ecclesiastical order, and the outward polity of the Church, I think confusion in Religion will as certainly follow every mans turning Priest or Preacher, as it will in the State, where every one affects to rule as King.

I was alwayes bred to more modest, and I think, more pious Principles: the consciousness to My spiritual defects, make Me more prize and desire those pious assistances, which holy and good Ministers, either Bishops or presbyters, may afford Me; especially in these extremities, to which God hath been pleased to suffer some of My Subjects to reduce

Me; so as to leave them nothing more, but My life to take from Me: and to leave Me nothing to desire, which I thought might lesse provoke their jealousy & offence to deny me, then this, of having some means afforded Me for My souls comfort and support.

To which end made choice of men, as no way (that I know) scandalous, so every way eminent for their learning and piety, no lesse then for their Loyalty: nor can I imagine any exceptions to be made against them, but onely this, That they may seem too able, and too well-affected toward Me and My service.

But this is not the first service (as I count it the best) in which they have forced Me to serve My self, though I must confesse, I bear with more grief and impatience, the want of My Chaplains, then of any other My Servants; and next (if not beyond in some things) to the being sequestred from My Wife and Children; since from these indeed more of humane and temporary affections, but from those more of heavenly and eternal improvements may be expected.

My comfort is, that in the inforced (not neglected) want of ordinary means, God is wont to afford extraordinary supplies of his gifts and graces.

If his Spirit will teach Me, and help My infirmities in prayer, Reading, and Meditation (as I hope he will) I shall need no other, either Orator or Instructor.

To Thee therefore, O my God, do I direct my now solitary prayers; what I want of others help, supply with the more immediate assistances of thy Spirit, which alone can both enlighten my darknesse, and quicken my dulnesse.

O thou Sun of Righteousnesse, thou Sacred Fountain of Heavenly light and heat, at once clear and warm my heart, both by instructing of mee, and interceding for

me. In thee is all fulnesse: From thee all sufficiency; by thee is all acceptance. Thou art company enough, and comfort enough: Thou art my King, be also my Prophet and my Priest. Rule me, teach me, pray in me, for me, and be thou ever with me.

The single wrestlings of Jacob prevailed with thee, in that sacred Duel, when he had none to second him but thy self; who didst assist him with power to overcome thee, and by a welcome violence to wrest a blessing from thee.

O look on me thy Servant, in infinite mercy, whom thou didst once blesse with the joynt and sociated Devotions of others, whose fervency might inflame the coldnesse of my affections towards thee; when we went to, or met in thy House with the voice of joy and gladnesse, worshipping thee in the unity of Spirits, and with the bond of peace.

O forgive the neglect, and not improving of those happy opportunities.

It is now thy pleasure, that I should be as a Pelican in the wilderness, as a Sparrow on the house top, and as a Coal scattered from all those pious glowings, and devour reflections, which might best kindle, preserve, and encrease the holy fire of thy graces, on the Altar of my heart, whence the sacrifice of prayers, and incense of praises, might be duly offered up to thee.

Yet, O thou that breakest not the bruised Reed, nor quenchest the smoking Flax, do not despise the weaknesse of my prayers, nor the smotherings of my soul in this uncomfortable lonenesse; to which I am constrained by some mens uncharitable denials of those helps, which I much want, and no lesse desire.

O let the hardnesse of their hearts, occasion the softnings of mine to thee, and for Them. Let their hatred kindle my love, let their unreasonable denials of my Religious desires, the more excite my prayers to thee. Let their inexorable deafnesse encline thine ear to me, who art a Goddess to be entreated; thine ear is not heavy, that it cannot, nor thy heart hard, that it will not hear; nor thy hand shortned, that it cannot help me thy desolate Suppliant.

Thou.

Thou permittest men to deprive me of those outward means, which thou hast appointed in thy Church; but they cannot debar me from the communion of that inward grace, which thou alone breathest into humble hearts.

O make me such, and thou wilt teach me; thou wilt hear me, thou wilt help me: The broken and contrite heart, I know, thou wilt not despise.

Thou, O Lord, canst at once make me thy Temple, thy Priest, thy Sacrifice, and thine Altar; whi'e from an humble heart I (alone) daily offer up in holy meditations, fervent prayers, and unfeigned tears myself to thee, who preparest me for thee, dwellest in me, and acceptest of me.

Thou, O Lord, didst cause by secret supplies and miraculous infusions, that the handful of meal in the vessel should not spend, nor the little oil in the cruise fail the Widow, during the time of drought and dearth.

O look on my Soul, which as a Widow, is now desolate and forsaken: let not those saving Truths I have formerly learned, now fail my memory; nor the sweet effusions of thy Spirit, which I have sometime felt, now be wanting to my heart in this famine of ordinary and wholesome food, for the refreshing of my Soul.

Which yet I had rather chuse, then to feed from those hands who mingle my bread with ashes, and my wine with gall; rather tormenting, then teaching me; whose mouths are proner to bitter reproaches of me, then to hearty prayers for me.

Thou knowest, O Lord of truth, how oft they wrest thy holy Scriptures to my destruction, (which are clear for their subjection, and my preservation) O let it not be to their damnation.

Thou knowest how some men (under colour of long prayers) have sought to devour the houses of their Brethren, their King, and their God.

O let not those mens Balms break my head, nor their Cordials oppresse my heart, I will overmore pray against their wickednesse.

From the poyson under their tongues, from the snares of

of their lips, from the fire, and the swords of their words, ever deliver me, O Lord, and all those Loyal and Religious hearts, who desire and delight in the prosperity of my Soul, and who seek by their prayers to relieve this sadnesse and solitude of thy servant, O my King and my God.

XXV. *Penitential Meditations and Vows in the Kings solitude at Holmby.*

GIve ear to my words, O Lord, consider my Meditation, and hearken to the voice of my cry, my King and my God, for unto thee will I pray.

I said in mine haste, I am cast out of the sight of thine eyes; neverthelesse thou hearest the voice of my supplication, when I cry unto thee.

If thou, Lord, shouldest be extream to mark what is done amisse, who can abide it? But there is mercy with thee, that thou mayest be feared; therefore shall sinners flye unto thee.

I acknowledge my sins before thee, which have the aggravation of my condition; the eminency of my place adding weight to my offences.

Forgive, I beseech thee, my personal and my peoples sins; which are so far mine, as I have not improved the power thou gavest me, to thy glory, and my Subjects good: Thou hast now brought me from the glory and freedom of a King, to be a prisoner to my own subjects: Justly, O Lord, as to thy overruling hand, because in many things I have rebelled against thee.

Though thou hast restrained my person, yet enlarge my heart to thee, and thy grace towards me.

I come far short of *Dauids* piety; yet since I may equal *Dauids* afflictions, give me also the comforts and the sure mercies of *David*.

Let the penitent sense I have of my sins, be an evidence to me, that thou hast pardoned them.

Let not the evils which I and my Kingdoms have suffered,

suffered, seem little unto thee, though thou hast not punished us according to our sins.

Turn thee (O Lord) unto me; have mercy upon me, for I am desolate and afflicted.

The sorrows of my heart are enlarged, O bring thou me out of my troubles.

Hast thou forgotten to be gracious, and shut up thy loving kindnesse in displeasure?

O remember thy compassions of old, and thy loving kindnesse, which have been for many generations.

I had utterly fainted, if I had not believed to see thy goodnesse in the land of the living.

Let not the sins of our prosperity, deprive us of the benefit of thy afflictions.

Let this fiery tryal consume the drosse, which in long peace and plenty we had contracted.

Though thou continuest miseries, yet withdraw not thy grace; what is wanting of prosperity, make up in patience and repentance.

And if thy anger be not to be yet turned away, but thy hand of justice must be stretched out still; Let it I beseech thee, be against me and my Fathers house, as for these sheep, what have they done?

Let my sufferings satiate the malice of mine, and thy Churches Enemies.

But let their cruelty never exceed the measure of my charity.

Banish from me all thoughts of Revenge, that I may not lose the reward, nor thou the glory of my patience.

As thou givest me a heart to forgive them, so I beseech thee do thou forgive what they have done against thee and me.

And now, O Lord, as thou hast given me an heart to pray unto thee, so hear and accept this Vow, which I make before thee.

If thou wilt in mercy remember me, and my Kingdoms, in continuing the light of thy Gospel, and setting thy true Religion among ns.

In restoring to us the benefit of the Laws, and the due execution of Justice.

In suppressing the many Schisms in Church, and Factions in State.

If thou wilt restore me and mine to the ancient Rights and Glory of my Predecessours.

If thou wilt turn the hearts of my people to thy self in piety, to me in Loyalty, and to one another in charity.

If thou wilt quench the flames, and withdraw the fewel of these Civil Wars.

If thou wilt blesse us with the freedom of publick Counsels, and deliver the honour of Parliaments from the insolency of the vulgar.

If thou wilt keep me from the great offence, of enacting any thing against my Conscience; and especially from consenting to sacrilegious rapines, and spoilings of thy Church.

If thou wilt restore me to a capacity, to glorifie thee in doing good, both to the Church and State.

Then shall my soul praise thee, and magnifie thy Name before My people.

Then shall thy glory be dearer to me then my Crowns, and the advancement of true Religion both in purity and power, be my chiefeest care.

Then will I rule my people with Justice, and my Kingdoms with equity.

To thy more immediate hand shall I ever own, as the rightful succession, so the merciful restoration of my Kingdoms, and the glory of them.

If thou wilt bring me again with peace, safety and honour, to my chiefeest City, and my Parliament.

If thou wilt again put the Sword of Justice into my hand, to punish and protect.

Then will I make all the world to see, and my very Enemies to enjoy the benefit of this Vow and Resolution of Christian Charity, which I now make unto thee, O Lord.

As I do freely pardon, for Christs sake, those that have offended me in any kinde; so my hand shall never be against any man, to revenge what is past, in regard of any particular injury done to me.

We have been mutually punished in our unnatural divisions; for thy sake, O Lord, and for the love of my Redeemer, have I purposed this in my heart, That I will use all means in the wayes of amnesty and indempnity, which may most fully remove all fears, and bury all jealousies in forgetfulness.

Let thy mercies be toward me and mine, as my resolutions of truth and peace are toward my people.

Hear my prayer, O Lord, which goeth not out of feigned lips.

Blessed be God, who hath not turned away my prayer; nor taken his mercy from me.

O my soul, commit thy way to the Lord, trust in him, and he shall bring it to passe.

But if thou wilt not restore me and mine, what am I, that I should charge thee foolishly?

Thou, O Lord, hast given, and thou hast taken, Blessed be thy Name.

May my people and thy Church be happy, if not by me, yet without me.

XXVI. *Upon the Armies Surprizal of the KING at Holmby, and the ensuing distractions in the two Houses, the Army, and the City.*

WHat part God will have Me now to act or suffer in this new and strange scene of affairs, I am not much solicitous; some little practice will serve that man, who onely seeks to represent a part of honesty and honour.

This surprize of Me tels the World, that a KING
cannot

cannot be so low, but He is considerable; adding weight to that party where he appears.

This motion, like others of the Times, seems excentrique and irregular, yet not well to be resisted or quieted: Better swim down such a stream, then in vain to strive against it.

These are but the struglings of those twins, which lately one womb enclosed, the younger striving to prevail against the elder; what the Presbyterians have hunted after, the Independents now seek to catch for themselves.

So impossible is it for lines to be drawn from the center, and not to divide from each other, so much the wider, by how much they go farther from the point of union.

That the builders of *Babel* should from division fall to confusion, is no wonder; but for those that pretend to build *Jerusalem*, to divide their tongues and hands, is but an ill omen; and sounds too like the fury of those Zealots, whose intestine bitterness and divisions, were the greatest occasion of the last fatal destruction of that City.

Well may I change My Keepers and Prison, but not My captive condition, onely with this hope of bettering, that those who are so much professed Patrons for the peoples Liberties, cannot be utterly against the Liberty of their King; what they demand for their own Consciences, they cannot in Reason deny to Mine.

In this they seem more ingenuotts then the Presbyterian rigour, who, sometimes complaining of exacting their conformity to Laws, are become the greatest Exactors of other mens submission to their novel injunctions, before they are stamped with the Authority of Laws, which they cannot well have without My consent.

'Tis a greater argument, that the Independents think themselves manumitted from their Rivals service,

vice, in that they carry on a businesse of such consequence, as the assuming My Person into the Armies custody, without any Commission, but that of their own will and power. Such as will thus adventure on a King, must not be thought over-modest, or timorous to carry on any designe they have a minde to.

Their next motion menaces, and scares both the two Houses and the City: which, soon after acting over again that former part of tumultuary motions, (never questioned, punished, or repented) must now suffer for both; and see their former sin in the glasse of the present terrors and distractions.

No man is so blinde, as not to see herein the hand of Divine Justice; they that by Tumults first occasioned the raising of Armies, must now be chastened by their own Army for new Tumults.

So hardly can men be content with one sin, but adde sin to sin, till the latter punish the former; such as were content to see Me and many Members of both Houses driven away by the first unsuppressed Tumults, are now forced to flye to an Army, or defend themselves against them.

But who can unfold the riddle of some mens justice? the Members of both Houses who at first withdrew, (as My self was forced to do) from the rudenesse of the Tumults, were counted Desertors, and outed of their places in Parliament.

Such as stayed them, and enjoyed the benefit of the Tumults, were asserted for the onely Parliament-men: Now the Fliers from, and the Forsakers of their places, carry the Parliamentary power along with them; complain highly against the Tumults, and vindicate themselves by an Army: such as remained and kept their stations, are looked upon as Abettors of tumultuary insolencies, and the Betrayers of the freedom and honour of Parliament.

Thus is Power above all Rule, Order, and Law;
where

where men look more to present Advantages, then their Consciences, and the unchangeable rules of Justice; while they are Judges of others, they are forced to condemn themselves.

Now the plea against Tumults holds good, the Authors and Abettors of them are guilty of prodigious insolencies; when as before, they were counted as Friends and necessary Assistants.

I see Vengeance pursues and overtakes (as the Mice and Rats are said to have done a Bishop in *Germany*) them that thought to have escaped, and fortified themselves most impreguably against it, both by their multitude and compliance.

Whom the Laws cannot, God will punish, by their own crimes and hands.

I cannot but observe this divine Justice, yet with sorrow and pity; for, I alwayes wished so well to Parliament and City, that I was sorry to see them do, or suffer any thing, unworthy such great and considerable bodies in this Kingdom.

I was glad to see them onely scared and humbled, not broken by that shaking: I never had so ill a thought of those Cities, as to despair of their Loyalty to Me; which mistakes might eclipse, but I never believed malice had quite put out.

I pray God the storm be yet wholly passed over them; upon whom I look, as Christ did sometime over *Jerusalem*, as objects of My prayers and tears, with compassionate grief, fore-seeing those severer scatterings, which will certainly befall such as wantonly refuse to be gathered to their duty: fatal blindness frequently attending and punishing wilful, so that men shall not be able at last to prevent their sorrows, who would not timely repent of their sins; nor shall they be suffered to enjoy the comforts, who securely neglect the counsels belonging to their peace. They will finde, that Brethren in iniquity, are not far from becoming insolent enemies; there being nothing harder,

harder, then to keep ill men long in one minde.

Nor is it possible to gain a fair period for those notions, which go rather in a round and circle of fancy, then in a right line of reason tending to the Law, the onely center of publick consistency; whither I pray God at last bring all sides.

Which will easily be done, when we shall fully see how much more happy we are, to be subject to the known Laws, then to the various wils of any men, seem they never so plausible at first.

Vulgar compliance with any illegal and extravagant wayes, like violent motions in nature, soon grows weary of it self, and ends in a refractory sullenness: Peoples rebounds are oft in their faces, who first put them upon those violent strokes.

For the Army (which is so far excusable, as they act according to Souldiers principles, and interests, demanding Pay and Indemnity) I think it necessary, in order to the publick peace, that they should be satisfied, as far is just; no man being more prone to consider them, then My self: though they have fought against Me, yet I cannot but so far esteem that valour and gallantry they have sometime shewed, as to wish I may never want such Men to maintain My Self, My Laws, and My Kingdoms, in such a peace, as wherein they may enjoy their share and proportion as much as any men.

But thou, O Lord, who art perfect Vnity in a sacred Trinity, in mercy behold those, whom thy Justice hath divided.

Deliver me from the strivings of my people, and make me to see how much they need my prayers and pity, who agreed to fight against me, and yet are now ready to fight against one another; to the continuance of my Kingdoms distractions.

Discover to all sides the wayes of peace, from which they have swerved: which consists not in the divided wils of Parties, but in the joynt and due observation of the Law.

Make

Make me willing to go whither thou wilt lead me by thy providence ; and be thou ever with me , that I may see thy constancy in the worlds variety and changes.

Make me even such as thou wouldest have me , that I may at last enjoy that safety and tranquillity , which thou alone canst give me.

Divert, I pray thee, O Lord, thy heavy wrath, justly hanging over those populous Cities, whose plenty is prone to adde fuel to their luxury , their wealth to make them wanton, their multitudes tempting them to security , and their security exposing them to unexpected miseries.

Give them eyes to see , hearts to consider , wills to embrace, and courage to do those things which belong to thy glory and the publick peace , lest their calamity come upon them as an armed man.

Teach them, That they cannot want enemies who abound in sin, nor shall they be long un-disarmed and un-destroyed, who with a high hand persisting to fight against thee, and the clear convictions of their own consciences , fight more against themselves, then ever they did against me.

Their sins exposing them to thy Justice , their riches to others injuries, their number to Tumults, and their Tumults to confusion.

Though they have with much forwardnesse helped to destroy me, yet let not my fall be their ruine.

Let me not so much consider, either what they have done or I have suffered, (chiefly at first by them) as to forget to imitate my crucified Redeemer, to plead their ignorance for their pardon ; and in my dying extremities, to pray to thee, O Father, to forgive them, for they knew not what they did.

The tears they have denied me in my saddest condition, give them grace to bestow upon themselves ; who, the lesse they weep for me , the more cause they have to weep for themselves.

O let not my blood be upon them and their children, whom the fraud and faction of some, not the malice of all, have excited to crucifie me.

But





Natus Majj 29. Anº 1630. Ætatis suæ 19.

But thou, O Lord, canst, and wilt (as thou didst my Redeemer) both exalt and perfect me by my sufferings, which have more in them of thy mercy, then of mans cruelty, or thy own justice.

XXVII. *To the Prince of Wales.*

SOn, if these Papers, with some others, wherein I have set down the private reflections of My Conscience, and My most impartial thoughts, touching the chief passages which have been most remarkable, or disputed in My late Troubles, come to your hands, to whom they are chiefly design'd, they may be so far useful to You, as to state Your judgement aright in what hath passed; whereof, a pious is the best use can be made: and they may also give You some directions, how to remedy the present distempers, and prevent (if God will) the like for time to come.

It is some kinde of deceiving and lessening the injury of My long restraint, when I finde My leisure and solitude have produced something worthy of My self, and useful to You; That neither You, nor any other, may hereafter measure the Cause by My Successes; nor My judgement of things by My misfortunes: which I count the greater by far, because they have so far lighted upon You, and some others, whom I have most cause to love as well as My self; and of whose unmerited sufferings I have a greater sence, then of Mine own.

But this advantage of wisdom You have above most Princes, that you have begun, and now spent some years of discretion, in the experience of Troubles, and exercise of patience; wherein Piety, and all Vertues, both Moral and Political, are commonly better planted to a thriving, as Trees set in Winter, then in warmth and serenity of times;

or

or amidst those delights, which usually attend Princes Courts in times of peace and plenty; which are prone, either to root up all plants of true Vertue and Honour, or to be contented onely with some leaves, and withering formalities of them, without any real fruits, such as tend to the publick good; for which Princes should alwayes remember they are born, and by providence designed.

The evidence of which different education, the holy Writ affords us in the contemplation of *David* and *Rehoboam*: The one prepared, by many afflictions, for a flourishing Kingdom; the other softned, by the unparaleld prosperity of *Solomons* Court; and so corrupted, to the great diminution, both for Peace, Honour, and Kingdom, by those flatteries, which are as unseparable from prosperous Princes, as Flies are from fruit in Summer, whom adversity, like cold weather drives away.

I had rather you should be *Charles le Bon*, then *le Grand*, Good, then Great; I hope God hath designed You to both, having so early put You into that exercise of his Graces, and Gifts bestowed upon You, which may best weed out all vicious inclinations, and dispose you to those Princely endowments and employments, which will most gain the love, and intend the welfare of those, over whom God shall place You.

With God I would have You begin and end, who is King of Kings, the Sovereign Disposer of the Kingdoms of the World, who pulleth down one, and setteth up another.

The best Government, and highest Sovereignty You can attain to, is, to be subject to him, that the Scepter of his Word and Spirit may rule in Your heart.

The true glory of Princes consists in advancing God's ry, in the maintenance of true Religion, and the Churches good; also in the dispensation of Civil power, with Justice and Honour to the publick peace.

Piety

Piety will make You prosperous; at least it will keep You from being miserable: nor is he much a loser, that loseth all, yet saveth his own soul at last.

To which center of true happinesse, God (I trust) hath, and will graciously direct all these black lines of affliction, which he hath been pleased to draw on Me, and by which he hath (I hope) drawn Me nearer to himself. You have already tasted of that Cup, whereof I have liberally drank, which I look upon as Gods Physick, having that in healthfulnesse which it wants in pleasure.

Above all, I would have You, as I hope you are already, well grounded and settled in Your Religion: The best profession of which, I have ever esteemed that of the *Church of England*, in which You have been educated; yet I would have Your own Judgement and Reason now seal to that sacred Bond, which education hath written, that it may be judiciously Your own Religion, and not other mens custom or tradition, which You professe.

In this I charge You to persevere, as coming nearest to Gods Word for Doctrine, and to the Primive examples for Government, with some little amendment, which I have elsewhere expressed, and often offered, though in vain. Your fixation in matters of Religion, will not be more necessary for Your Souls, then Your Kingdoms peace, when God shall bring You to them.

For I have observed, that the Devil of Rebellion, doth commonly turn himself into an Angel of Reformation, and the old Serpent can pretend new Lights: When some mens Consciences accuse them for Sedition and Faction, they stop its mouth with the name and noise of Religion; when Piety pleads for peace and patience, they cry out Zeal.

So that, unlesse in this point You be well settled, You shall never want temptations to destroy You and Yours, under pretensions of Reforming matters
of

of Religion; for that seems, even to worst men, as the best and most auspicious beginning of their worst designs.

Where, besides the Noveltie, which is taking enough with the Vulgar, every one hath an affectation, by seeming forward to an outward Reformation of Religion, to be thought Zealous; hoping to cover those irreligious deformities, whereto they are conscious, by a severity of censuring other mens opinions or actions.

Take heed of abetting any Factions, or applying to any publick Discriminations in matters of Religion, contrary to what is in your judgement, and the Church well settled; Your partial adhering, as Head, to any one side, gains You not so great advantages in some mens hearts (who are prone to be of their Kings Religion) as it loseth You in others; who think themselves and their profession first despised, then persecuted by You: Take such a course, as may either with calmnesse and charity quite remove the seeming differences and offences by impartiality, or so order affairs in point of power, that You shall not need to fear or flatter any Faction. For if ever You stand in need of them, or must stand to their courtesy, You are undone: The Serpent will devour the Dove. You may never expect lesse of Loyalty, Justice, or Humanity, than from those, who ingage into religious Rebellion: Their interest is alwayes made Gods; under the colours of Piety, ambitious Policies march, not onely with greatest security, but applause, as to the populacy: You may hear from them *Jacobs* voice, but You shall feel they have *Esaus* hands.

Nothing seemed lesse considerable then the Presbyterian Faction in *England*, for many years, so compliant were they to publick Order: nor indeed was their party great, either in Church or State, as to mens judgements: But as soon as discontents drave men into Sidings (as ill humours fall to the disaffected

ed part, which causes inflammations) so did all at first, who affected any novelties, adhere to that side, as the most remarkable and specious note of difference (then) in point of Religion.

All the lesser Factions at first, were officious Servants to Presbytery, their great Master : till time and Military successe, discovering to each their peculiar advantages, invited them to part stakes, and leaving the joynt stock of Uniform Religion, pretended each to drive for their party the trade of profits and preferments, to the breaking and undoing not onely of the Church and State, but even of Presbytery it self, which seemed and hoped at first to have ingrossed all.

Let nothing seem little or despicable to You, in matters which concern Religion, and the Churches peace ; so as to neglect a speedy reforming, and effectual suppressing Errors and Schisms, which seem at first but as a hand-breadth, by seditious Spirits, as by strong winds are soon made to cover and darken the whole Heaven.

When You have done justice to God, Your own Soul and his Church, in the profession and preservation both of Truth and Unity in Religion : The next main thing on which Your prosperity will depend and move, is, that of Civil Justice, wherein the settled Laws of these Kingdoms, to which You are rightly Heir, are the most excellent Rules You can govern by ; which by an admirable temperament, give very much to Subjects industry, liberty, and happinesse ; and yet reserve enough to the Majesty and Prerogative of any King, who owns his people as Subjects, not as Slaves ; whose subjection, as it preserves their property, peace and safety, so it will never diminish Your Rights, nor their ingenuous Liberties ; which consists in the enjoyment of the fruits of their industry, and the benefit of those Laws, to which themselves have consented.

Never charge Your head with such a Crown, as shall by its heaviness oppress the whole body, the weakness of whose parts cannot return any thing of strength, honour or safety to the Head, but a necessary debilitation and ruine.

Your Prerogative is best shewed and exercised, in remitting, rather than exacting the rigour of the Laws; there being nothing worse then legal Tyranny.

In these two points, the preservation of established Religion and Laws, I may (without vanity) turn the reproach of My sufferings, as to the Worlds censure, into the honour of a kinde of Martyrdom, as to the testimony of My own Conscience; the Troublers of My Kingdoms having nothing else to object against Me, but this, That I prefer Religion, and Laws established, before those alterations they propounded.

And so indeed I do, and ever shall, till I am convinced by better Arguments, that what hitherto have been chiefly used towards Me, Tumults, Armies, and Prisons.

I cannot yet learn that lesson, nor I hope ever will You, That it is safe for a King to gratifie any Faction, with the perturbation of the Laws, in which is wrapt up the publick Interest, and the good of the Community.

How God will deal with Me, as to the removal of these pressures and indignities, which his justice by the very unjust hands of some of My Subjects, hath been pleased to lay upon Me, I cannot tell: nor am I much solicitous, what wrong I suffer from Men, while I retain in My soul, what I believe is right before God.

I have offered all for Reformation and Safety, that in Reason, Honour, and Conscience I can; reserving onely what I cannot consent unto, without an irreparable injury to My own Soul, the Church, and My People, and to You also, as the next and undoubted Heir of My Kingdoms.

To which if the Divine Providence, to whom no difficulties are insuperable, shall in his due time after My decease bring You, as I hope he will; My counsel and charge to You is, That You seriously consider the former, real, or objected miscarriages, which might occasion My troubles, that You may avoid them.

Never repose so much upon any mans single counsel, fidelity, and discretion, in managing affairs of the first magnitude, (that is, matters of Religion and Justice) as to create in Your self, or others, a diffidence of Your own judgement, which is likely to be alwayes more constant and impartial to the interests of Your Crown and Kingdom then any mans.

Next, beware of exasperating any Factions, by the crossnesse & asperity of some mens passions, humors, or private opinions, imployed by You, grounded only upon the differences in lesser matters, which are but the skirts and suburbs of Religion.

Wherein a charitable connivance and Christian toleration often dissipates their strength, whom rougher opposition fortifies; and puts the despised and oppressed party, into such combinations, as may most enable them to get a full revenge on those they count their persecutors, who are commonly assisted by that vulgar commiseration, which attends all, that are said to suffer under the notion of Religion.

Provided the differences amount not to an insolent opposition of Laws, and Government, or Religion established, as to the essentials of them, such motions and minings are intolerable.

Alwayes keep up solid piety, and those fundamental Truths (which mend both hearts and lives of men) with impartial favour and justice.

Take heed, that outward circumstances and formalities of Religion devour not all, or the best encouragements of learning, industry, and piety; but with an equal eye, and impartial hand distribute fa-

vours and rewards to all men, as You finde them for their real goodnesse, both in abilities and fidelity worthy and capable of them.

This will be sure to gain You the hearts of the best, and the most too : who, though they be not good themselves, yet are glad to see the severer wayes of vertue at any time sweetned by temporal rewards.

I have, You see, conflicted with different and opposite Factions ; (for so I must needs call and count all those, that act not in any conformity to the Laws established, in Church and State) no sooner have they by force subdued what they counted their Common Enemy, (that is, all those that adhered to the Laws, and to Me) and are secured from that fear ; but they are divided to so high a rivalry, as sets them more at defiance against each other, then against their first Antagonists.

Time will dissipate all Factions, when once the rough horns of private mens covetous and ambitious designs, shall discover themselves ; which were at first wrapt up and hidden under the soft and smooth pretensions of Religion, Reformation, and Liberty :

As the Wolf is not lesse cruel, so he will be more justly hated, when he shall appear no better then a Wolf under Sheeps clothing.

But as for the seduced Train of the Vulgar, who in their simplicity follow those disguises ; My charge and counsel to You, is, That as You need no palliations for any designs, (as other men) so that You study really to exceed (in true and constant demonstrations of goodnesse, piety, and vertue, towards the people) even all those men that make the greatest noise and ostentations of Religion ; so You shall neither fear any detection, (as they do, who have but the face and mask of goodnesse) nor shall You frustrate the just expectations of Your people ; who cannot in reason promise themselves so much good from
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any Subjects novelties, as from the vertuous constancy of their King.

When these mountains of congealed Factions, shall by the sun shine of Gods mercy, and the splendor of Your vertues, be thawed and dissipated; and the abused Vulgar shall have learned, That none are greater Oppressors of their estates, Liberties and Consciences, then those men, that entitle themselves, The Patrons and Vindicators of them, only to usurp power over them; Let then no passion betray You to any study of revenge upon those, whose own sin and folly will sufficiently punish them in due time.

But as soon as the forked arrow of factious emulations is drawn out, use all princely arts, and clemency to heal the wounds; that the smart of the cure may not equal the anguish of the hurt.

I have offered Acts of Indempnity, and Oblivion, to so great a latitude, as may include all, that can but suspect themselves to be any way obnoxious to the Laws; and which might serve to exclude all future Jealousies and insecurities.

I would have You alwayes propense to the same way, when ever it shall be desired and accepted, let it be granted, not only as an Act of State-policy and necessity, but of Christian charity and choice.

It is all I have now left Me, a power to forgive those, that have deprived Me of all; and I thank God, I have a heart to do it; and joy as much in this grace, which God hath given Me, as in all My former enjoyments; for this is a greater argument of Gods love to Me, then any prosperity can be.

Be confident (as I am) that the most of all fides, who have done amisse, have done so, not out of malice, but mis-information, or mis-apprehension of things.

None will be more loyal and faithful to Me and
 V 3 You,

You, then those Subjects, who sensible of their Errors, and our Injuries, will feel in their own souls most vehement motives to repentance; and earnest desires to make some reparations for their former defects.

As your quality sets You beyond any Duel with any Subject; so the nobleness of Your minde must raise You above the meditating any revenge, or executing Your anger upon the many.

The more conscious You shall be to Your own merits, upon Your people, the more prone You will be to expect all love and loyalty from them; and to inflict no punishment upon them for former miscarriages: You will have more inward complacency in pardoning one, then in punishing a thousand.

This I write to You, not despairing of Gods mercy, and My Subjects affections towards You; both which, I hope You will study to deserve, yet We cannot merit of God, but by his own mercy.

If God shall see fit to restore Me, and You after Me, to those enjoyments, which the Laws have assigned to Us; and no Subjects, without an high degree of guilt and sin, can devest Us of; then may I have better opportunity, when I shall be so happy to see You in peace, to let You more fully understand the things that belong to Gods glory, Your own honour, and the Kingdoms peace.

But if You never see My face again, and God will have Me buried in such a barbarous Imprisonment and obscurity, (which the perfecting some mens designs require) wherein few hearts that love Me are permitted to exchange a word, or a look with Me; I do require and intreat You as Your Father, and Your King, that You never suffer Your heart to receive the least check against, or disaffection from the true Religion established in the Church of *England*.

I tell You, I have tryed it, and after much search and many disputes, have concluded it to be the best
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in the World ; not onely in the community, as Christian, but also in the special notion, as Reformed ; keeping the middle way , between the pomp of superstitious Tyranny, and the meannesse of fantastick Anarchy.

Not but that (the draught being excellent as to the main, both for Doctrine and Government, in the Church of *England*) some lines, as in very good figures, may haply need some sweetning, or polishing, which might here have easily been done by a safe and gentle hand , if some mens precipitancy had not violently demanded such rude alterations, as would have quite destroyed all the beauty and proportions of the whole.

The scandal of the late Troubles, which some may object, and urge to You against the Protestant Religion established in *England* , is easily answered to them, or Your own thoughts in this, That scarce any one who hath been a Beginner, or an active prosecutor of this late War against the Church, the Laws, and Me, either was, or is a true Lover, Embracer, or Practiser of the Protestant Religion, established in *England* : which neither gives such rules, nor ever before set such examples.

'Tis true, some heretofore had the boldnesse to present threatening Petitions to their Princes and Parliaments, which others of the same Faction (but of worse Spirits) have now put in execution : but let not counterfeit and disorderly Zeal abate Your value and esteem of true Piety, both of them are to be *known by their fruits* ; the sweetnesse of the Vine and Figtree is not to be despised, though the Brambles and Thornes should pretend to bear Figs and Grapes, thereby to rule over the Trees.

Nor would I have you to entertain any averfaction, or dislike of Parliaments ; which in their right constitution with Freedom and Honour, will never injure or diminish Your greatnesse ; but will rather be as in-

terchangings of love, loyalty, and confidence, between a Prince and his people.

Nor would the events of this black Parliament have been other then such (however much biaſſed by Fa-
ctions in the Elections) if it had been preserved from the insolencies of popular dictates, and tumultuary impressions: The sad effects of which, will no doubt, make all Parliaments after this, more cautious to preserve that Freedom and Honour, which belongs to such Assemblies (when once they have fully shaken off this Yoke of vulgar encroachment) since the publick interest consists in the mutual and common good both of Prince and people.

Nothing can be more happy for all, then in fair, grave, and honourable wayes, to contribute their Counsels in common, enacting all things by publick consent; without Tyranny or Tumults. We must not starve our selves, because some men have surfeited of wholsom food.

And if neither I, nor You, be ever restored to Our Right, but God in his severest justice will punish My Subjects, with continuance in their sin, and suffer them to be deluded with the prosperity of their wickednesse; I hope God will give Me, and You, that grace, which will teach and enable Us, to want, as well as to wear a Crown, which is not worth taking up, or enjoying upon sordid, dishonourable, and irreligious terms.

Keep You to true principles of piety, vertue, and honour, You shall never want a Kingdom.

A principal point of Your honour will consist, in Your preferring all respect, love, and protection to Your Mother, My Wife; who hath many wayes deserved well of Me, and chiefly in this, that (having been a means to blesse Me with so many hopefull Children; (all which, with their Mother, I recommend to Your love and care) She hath been content, with incomparable magnanimity and patience,

ence, to suffer both for and with Me, and You.

My prayer to God Almighty is, (whatever becomes of Me, who am, I thank God, wrapt up and fortified in My own Innocency, and his Grace) that he would be pleased to make You an Anchor or Harbour rather, to these tossed and weather-beaten Kingdoms; a Repairer, by Your wisdom, justice, piety, and valour, of what the folly and wickedness of some have so far ruined, as to leave nothing intire in Church or State, to the Crown, the Nobility, the Clergy, or the Commons; either as to Laws, Liberties, Estates, Order, Honour, Conscience, or Lives.

When they have destroyed Me (for I know not how far God may permit the malice and cruelty of My Enemies to proceed, and such apprehensions some mens words and actions have already given Me) as I doubt not but My blood will cry aloud for vengeance to Heaven; so I beseech God, not to pour out his wrath upon the generality of the People, who have either deserted Mee, or ingaged against Me, through the artifice and hypocrisy of their Leaders, whose inward honour will be their first tormenter, nor will they escape exemplary judgements.

For those that loved Me, I pray God they may have no misse of Me, when I am gone; so much I wish and hope, that all good Subjects may be satisfied with the blessings of Your presence and virtues.

For those that repent of any defects in their duty toward Me, as I freely forgive them in the word of a Christian King, so I believe You will finde them truly zealous to pay with interest, that loyalty and love to You, which was due to Me.

In sum, what good I intended, do You perform, when God shall give You power: much good I have offered, more I purposed to Church and State, if times had been capable of it.

The deception will soon vanish, and the Vizards will fall off apace : This mask of Religion, on the face of Rebellion (for so it now plainly appears, since My restraint and cruel usage, that they fought not for Me, as was pretended) will not long serve to hide some mens deformities.

Happy times, I hope, attend You, wherein Your Subjects (by their miseries) will have learned, *That Religion to their God, and Loyalty to their King, cannot be parted, without both their sin and their infelicity.*

I pray God blesse You, and establish Your Kingdoms in Righteousnesse, Your Soul in true Religion, and Your Honour in the love of God and Your people.

And if God will have disloyalty perfected by My destruction ; let My Memory ever, with My Name, live in You, as of Your Father that loves You ; and once a King of three flourishing Kingdoms ; whom God thought fit to honour, not onely with the Scepter and Government of them, but also with the suffering many indignities, and an untimely death for them ; while I studied to preserve the rights of the Church, the power of the Laws, the honour of My Crown, the priviledge of Parliaments, the liberties of My people, and My own Conscience ; which, I thank God, is dearer to Me, then a thousand Kingdoms.

I know God can, I hope He will restore Me to My Rights : I cannot despair either of His mercy, or of My peoples love and pity.

At worst, I trust I shall but go before You to a better Kingdom, which God hath prepared for Me, and Me for it, through My Saviour Jesus Christ, to whose mercies I commend You and all Mine.

Farewel, till We meet, if not on Earth, yet in Heaven.

XXVIII. *Meditations upon Death, after the Votes of Non-Addresses, and His Majesties closer Imprisonment in Carisbrook-Castle.*

AS I have leisure enough, so I have cause more than enough to meditate upon, and prepare for My Death; for I know there are but few steps between the prisons and graves of Princes.

It is Gods indulgence, which gives Me the space, but Mans cruelty, that gives Me the sad occasions for these thoughts.

For, besides the common burthen of mortality, which lies upon Me, as a Man; I now bear the heavy load of other mens ambitions, fears, jealousies, and cruel passions, whose envy or enmity against Me, makes their own lives seem deadly to them, while I enjoy any part of Mine.

I thank God, My prosperity made Me not wholly a stranger to the contemplations of mortality.

Those are never unseasonable, since this is always uncertain: Death being an eclipse, which oft happeneth as well in clear, as cloudy dayes.

But My now long and sharp adversity, hath reconciled in Me those natural Antipathies between Life and Death, which are in all men, that I thank God, the common terrors of it are dispelled; and the special horror of it, as to My particular much allayed: For, although My death at present may justly be represented to Me, with all those terrible aggravations, which the policy of cruel and implacable enemies can put upon it (affairs being drawn to the very dregs of malice) yet I blesse God, I can look upon all those stings, as unpoysinous, though sharp; since My Redeemer hath either pulled them out, or given Me the
Antidote

Antidote of his death against them; which as to the immaturity, injustice, shame, scorn, and cruelty of it, exceeded whatever I can fear.

Indeed, I did never finde so much the life of Religion, the feast of a good Conscience, and the brazen wall of a judicious integrity and constancy, as since I came to these closer conflicts wth the thoughts of Death.

I am not so old, as to be weary of life; nor (I hope) so bad, as to be either afraid to dye, or ashamed to live: true, I am so afflicted, as might make Me sometime even desire to dye; if I did not consider, That it is the greatest glory of a Christian life, to dye *daily*, in conquering by a lively faith, and patient hopes of a better life; those partial and quotidian deaths, which kill us (as it were) by piece-meals, and make us overlive our own fates; while we are deprived of health, honour, liberty, power, credit, safety, or estate, and those other comforts of dearest relations, which are as the life of our lives.

Though, as a King, I think My self to live in nothing temporal so much, as in the love and good-will of My people; for which, as I have suffered many deaths, so I hope I am not in that point as yet wholly dead: Notwithstanding, My Enemies have used all the poyson of falsity, and violence of hostility to destroy, first the love and loyalty which is in My Subjects, and then all that content of life in Me, which from these I chiefly enjoyed.

Indeed, they have left Me but little of life, and only the husk and shell (as it were) which their further malice and cruelty can take from Me; having bereaved Me of all those worldly comforts, for which life it self seems desirable to men.

But, O My Soul! think not that life too long or tedious, wherein God gives thee any opportunities, if not to do, yet to suffer with such Christian patience and magnanimity in a good Cause, as are the greatest honour

honour of our lives, and the best improvement of our deaths.

I know, that in point of true Christian valour; it argues pusillaninity to desire to dye out of wearinesse of life; and a want of that heroick greatnesse of spirit which becomes a Christian, in the patient and generous sustaining those afflictions, which as shadows necessarily attend us, while we are in this body; and which are lessened or enlarged, as the Sunne of our prosperity moves higher or lower, whose totall absence is best recompenced with the dew of Heaven.

The assaults of affliction may be terrible, like *Sampsons* Lion, but they yeeld much sweetnesse to those that dare to encounter and overcome them; who know how to overlive the witherings of their Gourds, without discontent or peevishnesse, while they may yet converse with God.

That I must dye as a man, is certain; that I may dye a King, by the hands of My own Subjects, a violent, sudden, and barbarous death, in the strength of My years, in the midst of My Kingdoms; My Friends and loving Subjects being helplesse Spectators: My Enemies insolent Revilers and Triumphers over Me, living, dying, and dead, is so probable in humane reason, that God hath taught Me not to hope otherwise, as to mans cruelty; however, I despair not of Gods infinite mercy.

I know My life is the object of the Devils and wicked mens malice; but yet under Gods sole custody and disposal: Whom I do not think to flatter for long life, by seeming prepared to dye; but I humbly desire to depend upon him, and to submit to his will, both in life and death, in what order soever he is pleased to lay them out to Me. I confesse it is not easie for Me, to contend with those many horrors of death, wherewith God suffers Me to be tempted; which are equally horrid, either in the suddenness
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of a barbarous Assassination; or in those greatest formalities, whereby My Enemies (being more solemnly cruel) will it may be, seek to adde (as those did, who crucified Christ) the mockery of Justice, to the cruelty of malice: That I may be destroyed, as with greater pomp and artifice, so with lesse pity, it will be but a necessary policy, to make My death appear as an act of Justice, done by Subjects upon their Sovereign; who know that no Law of God or Man, invests them with any power of Judicature without Me, much lesse against Me: and who, being sworn and bound by all that is sacred before God and Man, to endeavour My preservation, must pretend Justice to cover their Perjury.

It is, indeed, a sad fate for any man to have his Enemies to be his Accusors, Parties, and Judges; but most desperate, when this is acted by the insolence of Subjects against their Sovereign; wherein those, who have had the chiefeest hand, and are most guilty of contriving the publick Troubles, must by shedding My blood, seem to wash their own hands of that innocent blood, whereof they are now most evidently guilty before God and Man; and I believe, in their own consciences too, while they carried on unreasonable demands, first by Tumults, after, by Armies. Nothing makes mean spirits more cowardly-cruel, in managing their usurped power against their lawful Superiours, then this, the *Guilt of their unjust Usurpation*; notwithstanding, those specious and popular pretensions of Justice against Delinquents, applyed onely to disguise at first, the monstrousnesse of their designs, who despaired, indeed, of possessing the power and profits of the Vineyard, till the Heir, whose right it is, be cast out and slain.

With them, My greatest fault must be, That I would not either destroy My self with the Church and State, by My word, or not suffer them to do it unresisted by the Sword; whose covetous ambition, no Con-
cessions

cessions of mine could ever yet either satisfy or abate.

Nor is it likely they will ever think, that Kingdom of Brambles, which some men seek to erect (at once, weak, sharp, and fruitlesse, either to God or Man) is like to thrive, till watered with the Royal blood of those, whose right the Kingdom is.

Well, Gods will be done, I doubt not but My innocency will finde him both My Protector, and My Advocate, who is My onely Judge, whom I own as a King of Kings; not onely for the eminency of his power and majesty above them; but also for that singular care and protection which he hath over them: who knows them to be exposed to as many dangers (being the greatest Patrons of Law, Justice, Order, and Religion on Earth) as there be either Men or Devils, which love confusion.

Nor will he suffer those men long to prosper in their *Babel*, who build it with the bones, and cement it with the blood of their Kings.

I am confident they will finde Avengers of My death among themselves: the injuries I have sustained from them, shall be first punished by them, who agreed in nothing so much as in opposing Me.

Their impatience to bear the loud cry of My blood, shall make them think no way better to expiate it, then by shedding theirs, who with them, most thirsted after Mine.

The sad confusions following My destruction, are already presaged and confirmed to Me by those I have lived to see since My troubles; in which, God alone (who onely could) hath many wayes pleaded My cause; not suffering them to go unpunished, whose confederacy in sin was their onely security; who have cause to fear that God will both further divide, and by mutual vengeance, afterward destroy them.

My greatest conquest of Death, is from the power and love of Christ, who hath swallowed up Death in the victory of his Resurrection, and the glory of his Ascension.

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My Next comfort is, that he gives Me not onely the honour to imitate is example *in suffering for righteousness sake*, (though obscured by the foulest charges of Tyranny and injustice) but also, that charity, which is the noblest revenge upon, and victory over My Destroyers: By which, I thank God, I can both forgive them and pray for them, that God would not impute My blood to them, further then to convince them, what need they have of Christs blood to wash their souls from the guilt of shedding Mine.

At present, the will of My Enemies seemes to be their onely rule, their power the measure, and their successe the Exactor of what they please to call Justice; while they flatter themselves with the fancy of their own safety by My danger, and the security of their lives and designs by My Death: forgetting, that as the greatest temptations to sin are wrapped up in seeming prosperities, so the severest vengeance of God are then most accomplished, when men are suffered to compleat their wicked purposes.

I blesse God, I pray not so much, that this bitter cup of a violent death may pass from Me, as that of his wrath may passe from all those, whose hands by deserting Me, are sprinkled, or by acting and consenting to My death, are embued with My blood.

The will of God hath confined, and concluded Mine; I shall have the pleasure of dying, without any pleasure of desired vengeance.

This I think becomes a Christian toward his Enemies, and a King toward his Subjects.

They cannot deprive Me of more then I am content to lose, when God sees fit, by their hands, to take it from Me; whose mercy I believe, will more then infinitely recompence what ever by mans injustice he is pleased to deprive Me of.

The glory attending My death will far surpass all I could enjoy, or conceive in life.

I shall not want the heavy and envied Crowns of this World, when My God hath mercifully crowned and consummated his graces with glory ; and exchanged the shadows of My earthly Kingdoms among men, for the substance of that heavenly Kingdom with himself.

For the censures of the World ; I know the sharp and necessary Tyranny of My Destroyers, will sufficiently confute the calumnies of Tyranny against Me ; I am perswaded I am happy in the judicious love of the ablest and best of My Subjects, who do not onely pity and pray for Me, but would be content even to die with Me, or for Me.

These know, how to excuse My failings, as a man, and yet to retain, and pay their duty to Me as their King ; there being no religious necessity binding any Subjects, by pretending to punish, infinitely to exceed the faults and errors of their Princes; especially there, where more then sufficient satisfaction hath been made to the publick ; the enjoyment of which, private ambitions hath hitherto frustrated.

Others, I believe, of softer tempers, and lesse advantaged by My ruine, do already feel sharp convictions, and some remorse in their consciences ; where they cannot but see the proportions of their evil dealings against Me, in the measure of Gods retaliations upon them, who cannot hope long to enjoy their own thumbs and toes, having under pretence of paring others nails been so cruel, as to cut off their chiefest strength.

The punishment of the more insolent and obstinate, may be like that of *Korah* and his Complices (at once mutining against both Prince and Priest) in such a method of divine justice, as is not ordinary ; the earth of the lowest and meanest people opening upon them, and swallowing them up in a just disdain of their ill gotten and worse-used Authority : upon whose support & strength, they chiefly depended for
their

their building, and establishing their designs against Me, the Church and State.

My chiefest comfort in death, consists in My peace, which, I trust, is made with God ; before whose exact Tribunal, I shall not fear to appear , as to the Cause so long disputed by the Sword, between Me and My causelesse Enemies : where I doubt not, but his righteous judgement will confute their fallacy, who from worldly successe (rather like Sophisters, then sound Christians) draw those popular conclusions for Gods approbation of their actions ; whose wise providence (we know) oft permits many events, which his revealed Word (the onely clear, safe, and fixed rule of good actions and good consciences) in no sort approves.

I am confident, the Justice of My Cause, and clearnesse of My Conscience before God , and toward My people, will carry Me as much above them in Gods decision, as their successes have lifted them above Me in the vulgar opinion : who consider not, that many times those undertakings of men, are lifted up to Heaven in the prosperity and applause of the World, whose rise is from Hell, as to the injuriousnesse and oppression of the designe. The prosperous windes which oft fill the sails of Pirats, doth not justifie their piracy and rapine.

I look upon it with infinite more content and quiet of Soul, to have been worsted in My enforced contestation for, and vindication of the Laws of the Land, the freedom and honour of Parliaments, the rights of My Crown, the just liberry of My Subjects, and the true Christian Religion in its Doctrine, Government, and due encouragements, then if I had, with the greatest advantages of successe, over-borne them all ; as some men have now evidently done, whatever designs they at first pretended.

The prayers and patience of My Friends and loving Subjects, will contribute much to the sweetning
of

of this bitter Cup, which I doubt not but I shall more cheerfully take, and think as from Gods hand (if it must be so) then they can give it to Me, whose hands are unjustly and barbarously lifted up against Me.

And, as to the last event, I may seem to owe more to My Enemies, then My Friends; while those will put a period to the sinnes and sorrows attending this miserable life; wherewith these desire I might still contend.

I shall be more then Conquerour through Christ enabling Me; for whom I have hither to suffered: as he is the Author of Truth, Order, and Peace; for all which I have been forced to contend, against Error, Faction, and Confusion.

If I must suffer a violent death, with My Saviour, it is but mortality crowned with Martyrdom: where the debt of Death, which I owe for sin to Nature, shall be raised as a gift of faith and patience offered to God.

Which I humbly beseech him mercifully to accept; and although Death be the wages of My own sin, as from God, and the effect of others sins, as men, both against God and Me; yet as I hope My own sins are so remitted, that they shall be no ingredients to imbitter the cup of My death, so I desire God to pardon their sins, who are most guilty of My destruction.

The Trophees of My charity will be more glorious and durable over them, then their ill-managed victories over Me.

Though their sin be prosperous, yet they had need to be penitent, that they may be pardoned: Both which I pray God they may obtain; that My temporal death unjustly inflicted by them, may not be revenged by Gods just inflicting eternal death upon them: for I look upon the temporal destruction of the greatest King, as far lesse deprecable, then the eternal damnation of the meanest Subject.

Nor

Nor do I wish other, then the safe bringing of the ship to shore, when they have cast Me over-board; though it be very strange, that Mariners can finde no other means to appease the storm themselves have raised, but by drowning their Pilot.

I thank God, My Enemies cruelty cannot prevent My preparation; whose malice in this I shall defeat, that they shall not have the satisfaction to have destroyed My Soul with My Body; of whose salvation, while some of them have themselves seemed and taught others to despair, they have onely discovered this, that they do not much desire it.

Whose uncharitable and cruel Restaurations, denying Me even the assistance of any of My Chaplains, hath rather enlarged, then any way obstructed My access to the Throne of Heaven.

Where thou dwellest, O King of Kings; who fillest Heaven and Earth, who art the Fountain of Eternal life, in whom is no shadow of death.

Thou, O God, art both the just inflietor of death upon us, and the merciful Saviour of us in it, and from it.

Yea, it is better for us to be dead to our selves, and live in thee: then by living in our selves, to be deprived of thee.

O make the many bitter aggravations of my death, as a Man, and a King, the opportunities and advantages of thy special graces and comforts in my Soul, as a Christian.

If thou Lord wilt be with me, I shall neither fear nor feel any evil, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of Death.

To contend with death, is the work of a weak und mortal man; to overcome it, is the grace of thee alone, who art the A'mighty and immortal God.

O my Saviour, who knowest what it is to die with me as a man; make me to know what it is to passe through death to life with thee my God.

Though

Though I die, yet I know that thou my Redeemer livest for ever : though thou slayest me, yet thou hast encouraged me to trust in thee for eternal life.

O withdraw not thy favour from me, which is better then life.

O be not far from me, for I know not how neer a violent and cruel death is to me.

As thy Omniscience, O God, discovers, so thy Omnipotence can defeat the designs of those, who have, or shall conspire my destruction.

O shew me the goodnesse of thy will, through the wickednesse of theirs.

Thou givest me leave, as a man to pray, that this cup may passe from me; but thou hast taught me as a Christian, by the example of Christ, to adde, Not my will, but thine be done.

Yea, Lord, let our wills be one, by wholly resolving mine into thine : let not the desire of life in me be so great, as that of doing or suffering thy will in either life or death

As I believe thou hast forgiven all the errors of my life, so I hope thou wilt save me from the terrors of death.

Make me content to leave the worlds nothing, that I may come really to enjoy all in thee, who hast made Christ unto me in life, gain : and in death, advantage.

Though my Destroyers forget their duty to thee and me, yet do not thou, O Lord, forget to be merciful to them.

For, what profit is there in my blood, or in their gaining my Kingdoms, if they lose their own Souls?

Such as have not onely resisted my just power, but wholly usurped and turned it against my self, though they may deserve, yet let them not receive to themselves damnation.

Thou madest thy Son a Saviour to many, that crucified Him, while at once he suffered violently by them, and yet willingly for them.

O let the voice of his blood be heard for my Murthe-
rers, louder then the cry of mine against them.

Prepare

Prepare them for thy mercy, by due convictions of their sin, and let them not at once deceive and damn their own souls by fallacious pretensions of justice in destroying me while the conscience of their unjust usurpation of power against me, chiefly tempts them to use all extremities against me.

O Lord, thou knowest I have found their mercies to me as very false, so very cruel : who pretending to preserve me, have meditated nothing but my ruine.

O deal not with them as blood thirsty and deceitful men: but overcome their cruelty with thy compassion and my charity.

And when thou makest inquisition for my blood, O sprinkle their polluted, yet penitent souls with the blood of thy Son, that thy destroying Angel may passe over them.

Though they think my Kingdoms on earth too little to entertain at once both them and me, yet let the capacious Kingdom of thy infinite mercy at last receive both me and my enemies.

When being reconciled to thee in the blood of the same Redeemer, we shall live far above these ambitious desires, which beget such mortal enmities.

When their hand shall be heaviest, and cruellest upon me, O let me fall into the arms of thy tender and eternal mercy.

That which is cut off of my life in this miserable moment, may be repayed in thy ever-blessed Eternity.

Lord, let thy Servant depart in peace, for my eyes have seen thy Salvation.

Vota dabunt, quæ bella negarunt.

THE

THE PAPERS
Which passed ; First, between
His MAJESTY and Mr. *Alexander*
Henderfon at *Newcastle*, *An. Dom.* 1646.

Secondly , Between His MAJESTY
and Mr. *Marßal*, Mr. *Vines*, Mr. *Caril*,
and Mr. *Seaman* , Ministers attend-
ing the Commissioners of Parlia-
ment at the Treaty at *Newport*
in the Isle of *Wight*.
An. Dom. 1648.

Concerning Church-Government.
With His MAJESTIES Quæres^m
about *EASTER*.

To which are added , His MAJESTIES
Prayers.

Sundry other things relating to His
MAJESTIES Death.

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For Mr. *Alex. Henderson.*

His MAJESTIES *first Paper.*

Mr. *Henderson,*



Know very well what a great disadvantage it is for Me, to maintain an Argument of Divinity with so able and learned a Man as your self, it being your, not My profession; which really was the cause that made Me desire to hear some learned Man argue My Opinion with you, of whose abilities I might be confident, that I should not be led into an Error, for want of having all which could be said, laid open unto Me: For indeed, My humour is such, that I am still partial for that side, which I imagine suffers for the weaknesse of those that maintain it; alwayes thinking that equal Champions would cast the ballance on the other part; Yet since that you (thinking that it will save time) desire to go another way, I shall not contest with you in it, but treating you as My Physician, give you leave to take your own way of cure; onely I thought fit to warn you, lest if you, (not I) should be mistaken in this, you would be faine (in a manner) to begin a new.

Then know, that from My Infancy I was blest with the King My Fathers love, which, I thank God, was an unvaluable happinesse to Me, all his

X days,

dayes, and among all his cares for My education, his chief was to settle Me right in Religion; in the true Knowledge of which, he made himself so eminent to all the World, that, I am sure, none can call in question the brightnesse of his Fame in that particular, without shewing their own ignorant base malice: He it was, who laid in Me the Grounds of Christianity, which to this day I have been constant in; so that whether the worthinesse of My Instructor be considered, or the not few years that I have been settled in My Principles; it ought to be no strange thing, if it be found no easie work, to make Me alter them: and the rather, that hitherto, I have (according to *S. Pauls* rule, *Rom. 14. 22.*) been happy in *Not condemning my self, in that thing which I allow.* Thus having shewed you how, it remains, to tell you what, I believe, in relation to these present miserable distractions.

No one thing made Me more reverence the Reformation of My Mother, the Church of *England*, then that it was done (according to the Apostles defence, *Act 24. 18.*) *neither with multitude, nor with tumult*, but legally and orderly; and by those, whom I conceive to have onely the reforming power; which with many other inducements, made Me alwayes confident that the work was very perfect, as to Essentials; of which number Church-government being undoubtedly one, I put no question, but that would have been likewise altered, if there had been cause; which opinion of mine, was soon turned into more then a confidence, when I perceived that in this particular (as I must say of all the rest) we retained nothing but according as it was deduced from the Apostles to be the constant universal custom of the Primitive Church; and that it was of such consequence, as by the alteration of it, we should deprive ourselves of a lawful Priesthood, and then, how the Sacraments can be duly administred, is easie to judge: These are the principal Reasons, which make Me believe that Bishops

shops are necessary for a Church, and, I think, sufficient for Me (if I had no more) not to give My consent for their expulsion out of England; but I have another Obligation, that to My particular, is a no lesse tie of Conscience, which is, My Coronation Oath: Now if (as S. Paul saith, Rom. 14. 23.) *He that doubteth is damned if he eat, what can I expect, if I should, not onely give way knowingly to My peoples sinning, but likewise be perjured My self?*

Now consider, ought I not to keep my self from presumptuous sins? and you know who sayes, *What doth it profit a man, though he should gain the whole world, and lose his own Soul?* Wherefore My constant maintenance of Episcopacy in England, (where there was never any other Government since Christianity was in this Kingdom) Me thinks, should be rather commended then wondered at; My Conscience directing Me to maintain the Laws of the Land; which being onely My endeavours at this time, I desire to know of you, *What warrant there is in the Word of God, for Subjects to endeavour to force their Kings Conscience? or to make him alter Laws against his will?* If this be not My present case, I shall be glad to be mistaken; or, if My Judgement in Religion hath been missed all this time, I shall be willing to be better directed: till when, you must excuse Me, to be constant to the Grounds which the King My Father taught Me.

C. R.

Newcastle.

May 29. 1646.

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Far



For His MAJESTY.

Mr. Alex. Hendersons first Paper.

Sir,

1. **I** T is your Majesties Royal goodnesse, and not My Merit, that hath made your Majesty to conceive any opinion of My abilities; which (were they worthy of the smallest testimony from your Majesty) ought in all duty to be improved for your Majesties satisfaction. And this I intended in my coming here at this time, by a free, yet modest expreſſion of the true motives and inducements which drew my minde to the dislike of Episcopal Government, wherein I was bred in my younger years in the University. Like as I did apprehend that it was not your Majesties purpose to have the Question disputed by Divines on both sides; which I would never (to the wronging of the cause) have underraken alone; and which seldom or never hath proved an effectual way, for finding of truth, or moving the mindes of Men to relinquish their former Tenents, *Dum res transit à judicio in affectum*; witnesse the Polemicks between the Papists and us, and among our selves, about the matter now in hand, these many years past.

2. **Sir**, when I consider your Majesties education under the hands of such a Father, the length of time wherein your Majesty hath been settled in your principles

ciples of Church-Government; the Arguments which have continually in private and publick, especially of late at Oxford, filled your Majesties ears for the Divine Right thereof; your Coronation Oath, and divers State-Reasons which your Majesty doth not mention: I do not wonder, nor think it any strange thing, that your Majesty hath not at first given place to a contrary Impression. I remember that the famous *Joannes Picus Mirandula* proveth by irrefragable Reasons (which no rational man will contradict) That no man hath so much power over his own understanding, as to make himself believe what he will, or to think that to be true which his reason telleth him is false; much lesse is it possible for any man to have his reason commanded by the will, or at the pleasure of another.

2. It is a true saying of the Schoolmen, *Voluntas imperat intellectui quoad exercitium, non quoad specificationem*, Mine own will, or the will of another may command me to think upon a matter: but no will or command can constrain me to determine otherwise then my reason teacheth me. Yet Sir, I hope your Majesty will acknowledge, (for your Paper professeth no lesse) that according to the saying of *Ambrose*, *Non est pudor ad meliora transire*, It is neither sin nor shame to change to the better: *Symmachus* in one of his Epistles (I think to the Emperour *Theodosius* and *Valentinian*) alleageth all those motives, from education, from prescription of time, from worldly prosperity, and the flourishing condition of the Roman Empire, and from the Laws of the Land, to perswade them to constancy in the ancient Pagan profession of the Romans, against the embracing of the Christian Faith. The like reasons were used by the Jews for *Moses* against *Christ*; and may be used both for Popery and for the Papacy it self, against the reformation of Religion and Church-government; and therefore can have no more strength against the change now, then they had in former times.

3. But your Majesty may perhaps say, That this is *petitio principii*, and nothing else but the begging of the Question; and I confesse it were so, if there can be no Reasons brought for a Reformation or Change; Your Majesty reverences the Reformation of the Church of *England*, as being done legally and orderly, and by those who had the Reforming power: and I do not deny, but it were to be wisht, that Religion where there is need, were alwayes reformed in that manner, and by such power, and that it were not committed to the Prelates, who have greatest need to be reformed themselves, not left to the multitude, whom God stirreth up when Princes are negligent: Thus did *Jacob* reform his own Family, *Moses* destroyed the golden Calf, the good Kings of *Judah* reformed the Church in their time: but that such Reformation hath been perfect, I cannot admit. *Asa* took away Idolatry, but his Reformation was not perfect; for *Jehosaphat* removed the high places, yet was not his Reformation perfect, for it was *Hezekiah* that brake the brazen Serpent, and *Josiah* destroyed the Idol-Temples, who therefore beareth this Elogie, *That like unto him there was no King before him*. It is too well known that the Reformation of *K. Henry 8.* was most imperfect in the Essentials of Doctrine, Worship, and Government: And although it proceeded by some degrees afterward, yet the Government was never reformed, the Head was changed, *Dominus non Dominum*; and the whole limbs of the Antichristian Hierarchy retained, upon what snares and temptations of Avarice and Ambition, the great Enchanters of the Clergy, I need not expresse. It was a hard saying of *Romanus Malleus Crested* of *Lincolne*, That Reformation was not to be expected, *Nisi in ore gladii cruentandi*: yet this I may say, that the *Laodicean lukewarmnesse* of Reformation here, hath been matter of continued complaints to many of the godly in this Kingdom; occasion of more Schism and Separation

tion then ever was heard of in any other Church; and of unspeakable grief and sorrow to other Churches, which God did blesse with greater purity of Reformation. The glory of this great work we hope is reserved for your Majesty, that to your comfort and everlasting fame the praise of godly *Josiah* may be made yours; which yet will be no dispraise to your Royal Father, or *Edward* the sixth, or any other religious Princes before you; none of them having so fair an opportunity as is now by the supreme providence put into your Royal hands. My soul trembleth to think and to foresee, what may be the event, if this opportunity be neglected. I will neither use the words of *Mordecai*, *Esth* 4. 14. nor what *Savonarola* told another *Charls*, because I hope better things from your Majesty.

4. To the Argument brought by your Majesty (which I believe none of your Doctors, had they been all about you, could more briefly, and yet so fully and strongly have expressed) [*That nothing was retained in this Church but according as it was deduced from the Apostles to the constant universal practise of the Primitive Church; and that it was of such consequence, as by the alteration of it, We should deprive our selves of the lawfulness of Priesthood (I think your Majesty means a lawful Ministry) and then how the Sacraments can be administred is easie to judge.*] I humbly offer these considerations: First, what was not in the times of the Apostles, cannot be deduced from them: We say in Scotland, It cannot be brought But, that it was not the Ben; but (not to insist now in a Liturgy, and things of that kinde) there was no such Hierarchy, no such difference betwixt a Bishop and a Presbyter, in the times of the Apostles, and therefore it cannot thence be deduced; for I conceive it to be as clear as if it were written with a Sun-beam, that Presbyter and Bishop are to the Apostles one and the same thing, no majority, no inequality or difference of office,

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power,

power, or degree betwixt the one and the other, but a meer identity in all. 2. That the Apostles intending to set down the Offices and Officers of the Church, and speaking so often of them, and of their gifts and duties, and that, not upon occasion, but of set purpose; do neither expresse nor imply any such Pastor or Bishop as hath power over other Pastors, although it be true, that they have distinctly and particularly exprest the office, gifts, and duties of the meanest Officers, such as Deacons. 3. That in the Ministry of the New Testament there is a comely, beautiful, and divine order and subordination; one kinde of Ministers both ordinary and extraordinary being placed in degree and dignity one before another, as the Apostles first, the Evangelists, Pastors, Doctors, &c. in their own ranks: but we cannot finde in Offices of the same kinde, that one hath majority of power, or priority of degree before another; no Apostle above other Apostles (unlesse in moral respects) no Evangelist above other Evangelists; of Deacon above other Deacons; why then a Pastor above other Pastors? In all other sorts of Ministers ordinary and extraordinary a parity in their own kinde, onely in the office of Pastor an inequality. 4. That the whole power and all the parts of the Ministry, which are commonly called, *The power of Order and Jurisdiction*, are by the Apostles declared to be common to the Presbyter and Bishop: And that, *Matth. 15. 16, 17.* the gradation in matter of Discipline or Church-censures, is from one, to two, or more; and if he shall neglect them, tell it to the Church; he saith not, tell it to the Bishop: there is no place left to a retrogradation from more to one, were he never so eminent. If these considerations do not satisfie, your Majesty may have more, or the same further cleared.

5. Secondly, I do humbly desire your Majesty to take notice of the fallacy of that Argument, from
the

the practice of the Primitive Church, and the universal consent of the Fathers. It is the Argument of the Papists for such traditions as no Orthodox Divine will admit. The Law and Testimony must be the Rule. We can have no certain knowledge of the practice universal of the Church for many years; *Eusebius* the prime Historian confesseth so much: the learned *Josephus Scaliger* testifieth, That from the end of the *Acts* of the *Apostles* until a good time after, no certainty can be had from Ecclesiastical Authors about Church matters. It is true, *Diotrephes* sought the preheminance in the *Apostles* times, and the mystery of iniquity did then begin to work; and no doubt in after-times some puffed up with Ambition, and others overtaken with weaknesse, endeavoured alteration of Church-government, but that all the learned and godly of those times consented to such a change as is talked of afterwards, will never be proved.

6. Thirdly, I will never think that your Majesty will deny the lawfulness of a Ministry, and the due administration of the Sacraments in the Reformed Churches, which have no Diocesan Bishops, but it is not onely manifest by Scripture, but a great many of the strongest Champions for Episcopacy, do confesse, that Presbyters may Ordain other Presbyters, and that Baptism administered by a private person, wanting a publick Calling, or by a Midwife, and by a Presbyter, although not ordained by a Bishop, are not one and the same thing.

7. Concerning the other Argument taken from your Majesties Coronation Oath; I confesse, that both in the taking and keeping of an Oath (so sacred a thing is it, and so high a point of Religion) much tenderneffe is required: and farre be it from us, who desire to observe our own Solemn Oath, to presse your Majesty with the violation of yours. Yet Sir, I will crave your leave, in all

humbleness and sincerity to lay before your Majesties eyes this one thing, (which perhaps might require a larger discourse) that although no humane authority can dispense with an Oath, *Quia Religio juramenti pertinet ad forum Divinum*; yet in some cases it cannot be denied but the Obligation of an Oath ceaseth: As when we swear homage and obedience to our Lord and Superiour, who afterwards ceaseth to be our Lord & Superiour; for then the formal cause of the Oath is taken away, and therefore the Obligation, *Sublata causa tollitur effectus*; *sublato relato, tollitur Correlatum*. Or when any Oath hath a special reference to the benefit of those to whom I make the promise, if we have their desire or consent, the Obligation ceaseth; because all such Oathes from the nature of the thing, do include a condition. When the Parliaments of both Kingdoms, have covenanted for the abolishing or altering of a Law, your Majesties Oath doth not binde you, or your Conscience to the observing of it; otherwise no Laws could be altered by the Legislative power. This I conceive hath been the ground of removing Episcopall Government in Scotland, and of removing the Bishops out of the Parliament of England. And I assure my self, that your Majesty did not intend at the taking of your Oath, that although both Houses of Parliament should finde an alteration necessary, although (which God Almighty avett) you should lose your self, and your Posterity and Crown, that you would never consent to the abolishing of such a Law. If your Majesty still object, *that the matter of the Oath is necessary and immutable*, that doth not belong to this, but to the former Argument.

8. I have but one word more concerning your piety to your Royal Father, and teacher of happy memory, with which your Majesty does conclude. Your Majesty knows that King James never admitted Episcopacy upon Divine Right; That his Majesty did
 swear

swear and subscribe to the Doctrine, Worship, and Discipline of the Church of Scotland; that in the Preface of the latter Edition of *Basilicon Doron*, his Majesty gives an honourable testimony to those that loved better the simplicity of the Gospel, then the pomp and Ceremonies of the Church of England, and that he conceived the Prelates to favour of the Popish Hierarchy, and that (could his Ghost now speak to your Majesty) He would not advise your Majesty to run such hazards for those men who will chuse rather to pull down your Throne with their own ruine, then that they perish alone. The Lord give your Majesty a wise and discerning Spirit to chuse that in time which is right.

June 3.
1646.

For



For Mr. *Alex. Henderson.*

A Reply to his Answer to My first
Paper, *June 6. 1646.*

His MAJESTIES second Paper.

Mr. *Henderson,*

I F it had been the Honour of the Cause which I looked after, I would not have undertaken to put Pen to paper, or singly to have maintained this Argument against you (whose Answer to My former paper is sufficient, without further proofs, to justify My opinion of your abilities) but, it being meerly (as you know) for My particular satisfaction, I assure you that a Disputation of well chosen Divines, would be most effectual; and, I believe you cannot but grant, that I must best know, how My self may be best satisfied, for certainly My taste cannot be guided by another Mans palate, & indeed I will say, that when it comes (as it must) to Probations, I must have either *persons* or *books* to clear the Allegations, or it will be impossible to give Me satisfaction: The foreseeing of which, made Me at first (for the saving of Time) desire that some of those Divines, which I gave you in a List, might be sent for.

2. Concerning your second Section, I were much too blame, if I should not submit to that saying of *S. Ambrose* which you mention, for I would be unwilling

ling to be found lesse ingenuous then you shew your self to be in the former part of it; wherefore My Reply is, That as I shall not be ashamed to *change for the better*, so I must see that it is *better* before I *change*, otherwise, inconstancy in this were both sinne and shame; and remember (what your self hath learnedly enforced) that *no mans Reason can be commanded by another mans will*.

3. Your third begins, but I cannot say that it goes on with that Ingenuity, which the other did; for I do not understand, how those *Examples* cited out of the Old Testament do any way prove that the way of *Reformation*, which I commend, hath not been the most perfect, or, that any other is lawful, those having been all by the *Regal Authority*; and because *Henry the Eighths Reformation* was not perfect, will it prove that of King *Edward* and Queen *Elizabeth* to be unperfect? I believe a new *mood* and *figure* must be found out to form a *Syllogisme*, whereby to prove that: but however, you are mistaken; for, no man who truly understands the *English Reformation*, will derive it from *Henry the Eighth*, for he onely gave the occasion; it was his Son who began, and Queen *Elizabeth* that perfected it; nor did I ever averre, that the beginning of any humane Action was perfect, no more then you can prove that *God hath ever given approbation to Multitudes to Reform the negligence Princes*: For, you know, there is much difference between *Permission* and *Approbation*: But all this time I finde no *Reasons* (according to your promise) for a *Reformation*, or *Change* (I mean since Queen *Elizabeths* time.) As for your *Romanorum Malleus*. his saying; it is well you come off it, with [yet this I may say] for it seems to imply, as if you neither ought nor would justify that *bloody ungodly saying*: and for your comparing our *Reformation* here to the *Laodicean Lukewarmnesse*, proved by *Complaints*, *Grievings*, &c. all that doth, and but unhandsomely,

Peters

Petere principium; nor can Generals satisfie Me; for, you must first prove, that those men had reason to complain, those Churches to be grieved, and how we were truly the Causers of this Schism and separation: as for those words which you will not use, I will not answer.

4. Here indeed you truly repeat the first of My two main Arguments; but by your favour, you take (as I conceive) a wrong way to convince Me; It is I must make good the *Affirmative*, for I believe a *Negative* cannot be proved; Instead of which, if you had made appear the *practice* of the *Presbyterian Government* in the *Primitive times*; you had done much; for I do averre, that this *Government* was never practised before *Calvins* time; the *affirmative* of which, I leave you to prove; My task being to shew the *lawfulness*, and *succession* of *Episcopacy*, and, as I believe, the *necessity* of it: For doing whereof, I must have such Books as I shall call for; which possibly upon perusal, may, one way or other, give Me satisfaction; but I cannot absolutely promise it without the assistance of some Learned Man, whom I can trust, to finde out all such Citations, as I have use of: wherefore blame Me not, if time be unnecessarily lost.

5. Now for the *fallaciousness* of My Argument (to My knowledge) it was never My *practice*, nor do I confesse to have begun now: For, if the *practice* of the *Primitive Church*, and the *universal consent* of the *Fathers*, be not a convincing Argument, when the *interpretation* of *Scripture* is doubtful, I know nothing; For, if this be not, then of necessity the *interpretation* of *private Spirits* must be admitted: the which contradicts *Saint Peter*, 2 *Pet.* 1. 20. is the *Mother* of all *Sects*, and will (if not prevented) bring these *Kingdoms* into confusion: and to say, that an Argument is ill, because the *Papists* use it, or, that such a thing is good, because it is the custom of some of the *Reformed Churches*; cannot weigh with Me, until you prove these

these to be *infallible*, or that to maintain *no Truth*: And how *Diotrephes* ambition (who directly opposed the Apostle *S. John*) can be an Argument against *E-piscopacy*, I do not understand.

6. When I am made a Judge over the *Reformed Churches*, then, and not before, will I censure their *Actions*; as you must prove, before I confesse it, that *Presbyters without a Bishop*, may lawfully ordain other *Presbyters*: And as for the Administration of Baptism, as I think none will say, that a Woman can lawfully, or duly administer it, though when done, it be *valid*; so none ought to do it, but a lawful *Presbyter*, whom you cannot deny, but to be absolutely necessary for the *Sacrament of the Eucharist*.

7. You make a learned succinct discourse of *Oathes* in general, and their several *Obligations*, to which I fully agree; intending, in the particular now in question, to be guided by your own *Rule*, which is [*when any Oath hath a special reference to the benefit of those to whom I make the promise, if we have their desire, or consent, the Obligation ceaseth.*] Now, it must be known, to whom this Oath hath reference, and to whose benefit? the Answer is clear, onely to the *Church of England*; as by the *Record* will be plainly made appear; and you must mistake in alleaging, that the two *Houses of Parliament* (especially as they are now constituted) can have this *Disobligatory power*, for, (besides that they are not named in it) I am confident to make it clearly appear to you, that this *Church* never did submit, nor was subordinate to them; and that it was onely the *King and Clergy*, who made the *Reformation*, the *Parliament* meerly serving to help to give the *civil Sanction*: all this being proved (of which I make no question) it must necessarily follow, that it is onely the *Church of England* (in whose favour I took this Oath) that can release Me from it: wherefore when the *Church of England* (being lawfully assembled) shall declare that I am free, then, and not before, I shall esteem My self so.

8. To

8. To your last, concerning the *King my Father*, of happy and famous Memory, both for his *Piety* and *Learning*; I must tell you, that I had the happinesse, to know him much better then you; wherefore I desire you, not to be too confident, in the knowledge of his Opinions; for, I dare say, should his *Ghost now speak*, he would tell you, that a *bloody Reformation was never lawful, as not warranted by Gods word*, and that *Preces & lacrymae sunt Arma Ecclesiae*.

9. To conclude, having replyed to all your Paper, I cannot but observe to you, that you have given Me no Answer to My last *Quere*; it may be you are (as *Chaucer* sayes) like the people of *England*, *What they not like, they never understand*: But in earnest, that *Question* is so pertinent to the purpose in hand, that it will much serve for My satisfaction; and besides it may be useful for other things.

Newcastle,

C. R.

June 6.

1646.

For

For His Majesty.

Mr. Alex. Henderfons second Paper.

Sir,

THe smaller the encouragements be, in relation to the successe, (which how small they are, your Majesty well knowes :) the more apparent, and, I hope the more acceptable will my obedience be, in that which in all humility I now go about, at your Majesties command : yet while I consider, that the way of man is not in himself, nor is it in man that walketh, to direct his own steps ; and when I remember how many supplications, with strong crying and tears, have been openly and in secret offered up in your Majesties behalf, unto God that heareth prayer, I have no reason to despair of a blessed successe.

1. I have been averse, from a Disputation of Divines, 1. For saving of time ; which the present exigence and extremity of affairs, make more then ordinarily precious ; While *Archimedes* at *Syracuse* was drawing his figures and circlings in the sand, *Marcellus* interrupted his demonstration. 2. Because the common result of Disputes of this kinde, answerable to the prejudicate opinions of the parties, is rather Victory then Verity ; while *tanquam tentativi Dialectici*, they study more to overcome their adverse party, then to be overcome of Truth, although this be the most glorious Victory. 3. When I was commanded to come hither, no such thing was proposed to me, nor expected by Me. I never judged so meanly of the Cause, nor so highly of my self, as to venture it upon such weaknesse. Much more might be spoken to this purpose ; but I forbear.

2. I will not further trouble your Majesty with that which is contained in the second Section, hoping that your Majesty will no more insist upon *Education, prescription of time, &c.* which are sufficient to prevent Admiration, but (which your Majesty acknowledges) must give place to Reason, and are no sure ground of resolution of our Faith, in any point to be believed: although it be true that the most part of men make these and the like, to be the ground and rule of their Faith: an Evidence, that their Faith is not a Divine Faith, but an humane Credulity.

3. Concerning *Reformation of Religion* in the third Section; I had need have a Preface to so thorny a Theam, as your Majesty hath brought Me upon.

1. For the *Reforming power*; it is conceived, when a General Defection, like a Deluge, hath covered the whole face of the Church, so that scarcely the tops of the Mountains do appear, a General Council is necessary; but, because that can hardly be obtained, several Kingdoms (which we see was done, at the time of the Reformation) are to reform themselves, and that by the authority of their Prince, and Magistrates: if the Prince or supreme Magistrate, be unwilling, then may the inferiour Magistrate and the people, being before rightly informed in the grounds of Religion, lawfully Reform, within their own sphere; and if the light shine upon all, or the major part, they may, after all other means assayed, make a publick Reformation. This, before this time, I never wrote or spoke; yet the maintainers of this Doctrine, conceive that they are able to make it good. But, Sir, were I worthy to give advice to your Majesty, or to the Kings, and Supreme Powers on Earth, my humble Opinion would be, that they should draw the mindes, tongues, and pens of the Learned, to dispute about other matter, then the power or Prerogative of Kings and Princes; and in this kinde your Majesty hath suffered and lost more, then will easily be restored

red to your ſelf or your Poſterity, for a long time. It is not denied but the prime Reforming power, is in Kings and Princes, *Quibus--deficientibus*, it comes to the inferiour Magiſtrate, *Quibus Deficientibus*, it deſcendeth to the Body of the people; ſuppoſing that there is a neceſſity of Reformation, and that by no means it can be obtained of their Superiours. It is true that ſuch a Reformation, is more imperfect, in reſpect of the instruments, and manner of procedure; yet for the moſt part, more pure and perfect in relation to the effect and product. And for this end did I cite the examples of old of Reformation by Regal Authority; of which none was perfect, in the ſecond way of perfection, except that of *Jofiah*. Concerning the ſaying of *Groſthead*, whom the *Cardinals at Rome* confeſt to be a more godly man, then any of themſelves; it was his Complaint, and prediction of what was likely to enſue, not his deſire, or Election, if Reformation could have been obtained, in the ordinary way. I might bring two impartial Witneſſes, *Jewel* and *Biſſon*, both famous Engliſh Biſhops, to prove that the tumults and troubles raiſed in *Scotland*, at the time of Reformation, were to be imputed to the *Papiſts* oppoſing of the Reformation, both of Doctrine and Discipline, as an Heretical Innovation; and not to be aſcribed to the Nobility, or people, who under God, were the Instruments of it; intending and ſeeking nothing, but the purging out of Error, and ſetting of the Truth. 2. Concerning the Reformation of the Church of *England*, I conceive, whether it was begun or not, in *K. Henry* the 8. time, it was not finiſhed by *Q. Elizabeth*: the Father ſtirred the humours of the diſeaſed Church; but neither the Son nor the Daughter (although we have great reaſon to bleſſe God for both) did purge them out perfectly: This perfection is yet reſerved for your Maſteſty: Where it is ſaid, that *all this time I bring no Reaſons, for a further Change*; the fourth Section, of my

my last Paper, hath many hints of *Reasons against Episcopal Government*, with an offer of more, or clearing of those; which your Majesty hath not thought fit to take notice of. And learned Men have observed many Defects in that Reformation: As that the Government of the Church of *England*, (for about this is the Question now) is not builded upon the foundation of *Christ* and the *Apostles*; which they, at least cannot deny, who professe *Church-Government* to bee *mutable* and *ambulatory*; and such were the greater patt of *Arch-bishops* and *Bishops* in *England*, contenting themselves with the *Constitutions* of the Church, and the *authority* and *munificence* of *Princes*, till of late, that some few have pleaded it to be *Jure Divino*: That, the *English Reformation* hath not perfectly purged out the *Roman Leaven*; which is one of the *Reasons* that have given ground to the comparing of this Church to the Church of *Laodicea*, as being neither hot nor cold, neither *Papish* nor *Reformed*, but of a *Lukewarm* temper, betwixt the two: That it hath depraved the *Discipline* of the Church, by conforming of it to the *Civil policy*: That it hath added many *Church Offices*, higher and lower, unto those instituted by the *Son of God*; which is as unlawful as to take away *Offices* warranted by the *Divine Institution*: And other the like, which have moved some to apply this saying to the Church of *England*, *Multi ad perfectionem pervenirent, nisi jam se pervenisse crederent*.

4. In my Answer to the first of Your Majesties many Arguments, I brought a Breviate of some Reasons to prove, That a *Bishop* and *Presbyter* are one and the same in Scripture: from which, by necessary consequence, I did inferre the Negative; Therefore, No difference in Scripture between a *Bishop* and a *Presbyter*; the one name signifying, *Industriam Curie pastoralis*; the other, *Sapientia Maturitatem*,

turritatem, saith Beda. And whereas your Majesty averres, That Presbyterian Government was never practised, before Calvins time; Your Majesty knowes, the common Objection of the Papists, against the Reformed Churches; Where was your Church, your Reformation, your Doctrine, before Luther's time? One part of the common Answer is, That it was from the beginning, and is to be found in Scripture: The same I affirm of Presbyterian Government: And for the proving of this, the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, have made manifest, That the Primitive Christian Church at Jerusalem was governed by a Presbytery: While they shew, 1. That, the Church of Jerusalem consisted of more Congregations then one, from the multitude of Believers, from the many Apostles, and other Preachers in that Church, and from the diversity of Languages among the Believers. 2. That all these Congregations, were under one Presbyterial Government, because they were, for Government, one Church, Acts 11. 22, 26. And because that Church was governed by Elders, Acts 11. 30. which were Elders of that Church, and did meet together for Acts of Government: And the Apostles themselves, in that Meeting, Acts 15. acted not as Apostles, but as Elders; stating the Question, debating it, in the ordinary way of disputation; and having, by search of Scripture, found the will of God, they conclude, *It seemed good to the Holy Ghost and us*: which in the judgement of the Learned, may be spoken by any Assembly, upon like evidence of Scripture. The like Presbyterian Government had place in the Churches of Corinth, Ephesus, Thessalonica, &c. in the times of the Apostles; and after them, for many years, when one of the Presbytery was made *Episcopus præsēs*, even then, *Communi presbyterorum Consilio gubernabantur*, saith Saint Jerome, & *Episcopus magis consuetudine, quam Dispositionis*

positionis Divinae veritate, Presbyteris esse majores, & in Commune debere Ecclesiam regere.

5. Far be it from me to think such a thought, as that your Majesty did intend any Fallacy, in your other main Argument, from Antiquity. As we are to distinguish between *Intentio operantis*, & *Conditio operis*; so may we in this case consider the difference between *Intentio Argumentantis*, & *Conditio Argumenti*. And where your Majesty argues, That, if Your Opinion be not admitted, we will be forced to give place to the Interpretation of private Spirits, which is contrary to the Doctrine of the Apostle S. Peter, and will prove to be of dangerous consequence; I humbly offer to be considered by your Majesty, what some of chief note among the Papists themselves have taught us, That the Interpretation of Scriptures, and the Spirits whence they proceed, may be called private in a threefold sense. 1. *Ratione personae*, if the Interpreter be of a private condition. 2. *Ratione modi & Medii*, when persons, although not private, use not the publick means which are necessary for finding out the Truth, but follow their own fancies. 3. *Ratione finis*, when the Interpretation is not proposed as Authentical to binde others, but is intended onely for our own private satisfaction. The first is not to be despised; the second is to be exploded, and is condemned by the Apostle Peter; the third ought not to be censured: But that Interpretation which is Authentical, and of Supreme Authority, which even mans conscience is bound to yeeld unto, is of an higher nature. And although the General Council should resolve it, and the Consent of the Fathers should be had unto it, yet there must alwayes be place left to the judgement of Discretion, as Davenant, late Bishop of Salisbury, beside divers others, hath learnedly made appear in his Book, *De Judice Controversiarum*; where also the power of Kings in matter of Religion, is solidly and unpartially determined. Two words onely

onely I adde ; one is, that notwithstanding all that is pretended from Antiquity, a Bishop having sole power of Ordination and Jurisdiction, will never be found in *prime Antiquity*. The other is, That many of the Fathers did, unwittingly, bring forth that *Antichrist*, which was conceived in the times of the Apostles, and therefore are incompetent Judges in the Question of *Hierarchy*. And upon the other part, the Lights of the Christian Church, at, and since the beginning of the Reformation, have discovered many secrets, concerning the *Antichrist* and his *Hierarchy*, which were not known to former Ages: And diverse of the Learned, in the Roman Church, have not feared to pronounce, That whosoever denies the true and literal sense of many Texts of Scripture, to have been found out in this last Age, is unthankful to God, who hath so plentifully powred forth his Spirit upon the Children of this Generation, and ungrateful towards those men, who with so great pains, so happy success, and so much benefit to Gods Church, have travelled therein: This might be instanced in many places of Scripture: I winde together *Diotrephes* and the *Mystery of Iniquity*, the one as an old example of Church-ambition, which was also too palpable in the Apostles themselves: And the other as a cover of Ambition, afterwards discovered; which two, brought forth the great *Mystery* of the Papacy at last.

6. Although your Majesty be not made a Judge of the Reformed Churches, yet you so far censure them, and their actions, as, without Bishops, in your judgement, they cannot have a lawful Ministry, nor a due Administration of the Sacraments: Against which dangerous and destructive Opinion, I did alledge what I purposed, your Majesty would not have denied. 1. That Presbyters without a Bishop, may Ordain other Presbyters. 2. That Baptism, administered by such a Presbyter, is another thing then Baptism administered by a private person, or a Midwife. Of the first

first, your Majesty calls for proof: I told before that in Scripture, it is manifest, 1 Tim. 4. 14. *Neglect not the gift that is in thee, which was given thee by the prophesie, with the laying on of the hands of the Presbytery*; so it is in the English Translation: and the word Presbytery, so often as it is used in the New Testament, alwayes signifies the persons, and not the Office. And although the Offices of Bishop and Presbyter were distinct; yet doth not the Presbyter derive his power of Order, from the Bishop. The Evangelists were inferior to the Apostles; yet had they their power, not from the Apostles, but from CHRIST. The same I affirm of the 70 Disciples, who had their power immediately from CHRIST, no lesse then the Apostles had theirs. It may upon better reason be averred, That the Bishops have their power from the Pope, then that Presbyters have their power from Prelates. It is true, Jerome saith, *Quid facit, excepta ordinatione Episcopus, quod non facit Presbyter*; but in the same place he proves from Scripture, that *Episcopus & presbyter* are one and the same; and therefore when he appropriates Ordination to the Bishop, he speaketh of the degenerated custom of his time. 2. Concerning Baptism, a private person may perform the external Action and Rites, both of it and of the Eucharist; yet is neither of the two a Sacrament, or hath any efficacy, unlesse it be done by him that is lawfully called thereunto, or by a person made publick and clothed with authority by Ordination. This Error in the matter of Baptism, is begot by an other Errour, of the absolute Necessity of Baptism.

7. To that which hath been said, concerning your Majesties Oath, I shall adde nothing; not being willing to enter upon the Question, of the subordination of the Church to the Civil power, whether the King or Parliament, or both, and to either of them, in their own place. Such an Headship as the Kings of England hath claimed, and such a Supremacy as the two Houses
of

of Parliament crave, with the Appeals from the supreme Ecclesiastical Judicature to them as set over the Church, in the same line of Subordination, I do utterly disclaim upon such Reasons as give my self satisfaction, although no man shall be more willing to submit to Civil powers, each one in their own place, and more unwilling to make any trouble then My self: Onely concerning the application of the generals of an Oath, to the particular case now in hand; under favour, I conceive not how the Clergy of the Church of *England*, is, or ought to be principally intended in your Oath: For, although they were esteemed to be the Representative Church, yet even that is for the benefit of the Church Collective; *Salus populi*, being *Suprema Lex*, and to be principally intended. Your Majesty knowes it was so in the Church of *Scotland*, where the like alteration was made. And if nothing of this kinde can be done without the consent of the Clergy, what Reformation can be expected in *France*, or *Spain*, or *Rome* it self? Its not to be expected, that the *Pope*, or *Prelat* will consent to their own ruin.

8. I will not presume upon any secret knowledge of the Opinions held by the King, Your Majesties Father, of famous Memory; they being much better known to your Majesty, I did onely produce, what was profest by him, before the World: And although *Prayers and Tears be the Arms of the Church*; yet, it is neither acceptable to God, nor conducible for Kings and Princes, to force the Church to put on these Arms: Nor could I ever hear a reason, why a necessary Defensive War against unjust Violence is unlawful, although it be joyned with offence and invasion which is intended for Defence, but so that Arms are laid down when the offensive War ceaseth: by which it doth appear, that the War on the other side, was, in the nature thereof, Defensive.

9. Concerning the forcing of Conscience, which I pretermitted in my other paper, I am forced now,

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bat

but without forcing of my Conscience, to speak of. Our Conscience may be said to be forced; either by our selves, or by others. By our selves: 1. When we stop the ear of our Conscience and will not hear-ken, or give place to information, resolving obstinately, *Ne si persuaseris, persuadebis*; which is no lesse then a resisting of the Holy Ghost, and the hardning of our hearts. 2. Or when we stop the mouth, and suppress the clamours of our Conscience; resolving rather to suffer the Worm to gnaw, and the fire to burn inwardly, then to make profession of that we are convinced to be Truth. 3. Or when we sear our Conscience, as with an hot Iron, that it becometh senselesse; which is the punishment of the former: unto which is opposed, the truly tender Conscience; such as *Josiah* had, *2 Kings 22.19*. Again, 1. Our Conscience is said to be forced by others, when they obtrude upon us what is in it self evil and unlawful; which if we admit, against our own Conscience, we sin two wayes; one is, *by doing that which is in it self evil and unlawful*; the other is, *by doing it against a dictate of Conscience*, which is a contempt of God, whose Vicegerent it is. 2. Or when others urge us to do that which is in it self good, or may lawfully be done, but through error of Conscience we judge it to be evil & unlawful: in this case, if we do not that which is prest upon us, we sin, because the thing is good & lawful: And if we do it, we sin, because we do against our Conscience. Which in this case bindeth; but obligeth not: And yet there is a way to escape out of this Labyrinth, it being repugnant to the equity of the will of God to lay a necessity of sinning upon any man: The onely way is, to lay aside such a Conscience, it being a part of the *Old man*, which we are commanded to put off; otherwise, we being sufficiently informed, and yet cleaving to our old error, we rather do violence to our conscience, our selves, then suffer violence from others. The Application, for Answering the *Quære*, I leave to your Majesty.

Newcastle, June 17. 1646.

F 2



For Mr. *Alex. Henderson.*

His MAJESTIES third Paper.

1. I were arrogance, besides losse of time, in Me
to vie *preambles* with you: For, it is *Truth* I seek,
and neither *praise* nor *victory*; wherefore I shall honestly
insist upon those things which are meerly necessary to
My own satisfaction; in order to which, I desired the
assistance of some *Divines*; whereupon I will insist no
further, save onely to wish, that you may not (as I
have known many Men do) *lose* time, by being mista-
ken in the way to *save* it, wherein I have onely sought
to disburden My self, but to lay no blame upon you,
and so I leave it.

2. Nor will I say more of the second then this, that
I am glad you have so well approved of what I have
said concerning My *education* and *reason*; but then
remember, that *another mans will*, is at least, as weak a
ground, to build My Faith upon, as My former *edu-
cation*.

3. In this there are two points: First, concerning
the *Reforming power*, then anent the *English Reforma-
tion*: For the first, I confesse you now speak clearly,
which before you did but darkly mention, wherein I
shall mainly differ with you, until you shall shew Me
better reason: yet thus far I will go along with you,
that when a *General Council* cannot be had, several

Kingdoms may *Reform* themselves, (which is learnedly and fully proved by the late *Archbishop* of *Canterbury* in his disputation against *Fisher*) but, that the *inferiour Magistrates* or people (take it which way you will) have this power, I utterly deny: For which, by your favour, you have made no sufficient proof, to My judgement: Indeed, if you could have brought or can bring authority of Scripture, for this opinion, I would and will, yet, with all reverence submit; but as for your Examples, out of the *Old Testament*, in My minde, they rather make for, then against Me, all those *Reformations* being made by *Kings*; and it is a good probable (though I will not say convincing) Argument, that if God would have approved of a popular reforming way, there were *Kings* of *Judah* and *Israel* sufficiently negligent and ill to have made such examples by; but by the contrary, the 16 Chapter of *Numbers* shews clearly, how God disapproves of such courses: but I forget this Assertion is to be proved by you; yet I may put you in the way, wherefore let Me tell you that this pretended power in the people, must (as all others) either be directly, or else declaratorily by approbation, given by God; which, how soon you can do, I submit; otherwise you prove nothing: For the citing of private Mens opinions (more then as they concur with the general consent of the Church in their time) weighs little with Me, it being too well known, that *Rebels* never wanted *Writers* to maintain their unjust actions; and though I much reverence *Bishop Jewels* memory, I never thought him infallible; for *Bilson* I remember wel what opinion the King My Father had of him for those Opinions, and how He shewed him some favour in hope of his Recantation, (as His good nature made Him do many things of that kinde) but whether he did, or not, I cannot say: To conclude this point, until you shall prove this position by the Word of God, (as I will Regal Authority) I shall think all popular Reformer-

Reformation, little better then *Rebellions*; for, I hold that *no Authority is lawful but that which is either directly given, or at least, approved by God.* Secondly, Concerning the *English Reformation*, the first reason you bring why *Queen Elizabeth* did not finish it, is, because *she took not away Episcopacy*, the *hints of reason against which Government*, you say, *I take no notice of*; now I thought it was sufficient notice, yea and answer too, when I told you, *a negative* (as I conceived) could not be proved, and that it was for Me to prove the affirmative; which I shall either *do*, or yeeld the Argument, as soon as I shall be assisted with *Books*, or such *Men* of My opinion, who, like you, have a Library in their brain: And so I must leave this particular until I be furnished with means to put it to an *issue*; which had been sooner done, if I could have had My will: indeed your second well proved, is most sufficient, which is, That the *English Church-Government is not builded upon the foundation of Christ and the Apostles*; but I conceive your probation of this, doubly defective; for first, albeit our *Archbishops and Bishops* should have professed *Church-Government* to be *mutable and ambulatory*, I conceive it not sufficient to prove your Assertion: and secondly, I am confident you cannot prove, that most of them maintained this *walking* position, (for some particulars must not conclude the general) for which you must finde much better Arguments then their being content with the *Constitution of the Church*, and the *Authority and munificence of Princes*, or you will fall extreamly short: As for the *retaining of the Roman Leaven*, you must prove it, as well as say it, else you say little: But that the *conforming of the Church discipline to the civil policy*, should be a depraving of it, I absolutely deny; for I averre, that without it, the Church can neither flourish, nor be happy: And for your last instance, you shall doe

well

well to shew the prohibition of our Saviour against addition of more Officers in the Church then he named; and yet in one sense I do not conceive that the Church of *England* hath added any; for, an *Archbishop* is onely a distinction for order of Government, not a new Officer, and so of the rest: and of this kinde I believe there are diverse now in *Scotland* which you will not condemn, as the *Moderators of Assemblies*, and others.

4. Where you finde a *Bishop* and *Presbyter*, in Scripture to be one and the same (which I deny to be alwayes so) it is in the *Apostles time*; now I think to prove the Order of *Bishops* succeeded that of the *Apostles*, and that the name was chiefly altered, in reverence to those who were immediately chosen by our Saviour, (albeit, in their time, they caused diverse to be called so, as *Barnabas* and others) so that, I believe, this Argument makes little for you: As for your proof of the Antiquity of *Presbyterian Government*, it is well that the *Assembly of Divines at Westminster* can do more then *Eusebius* could, and I shall believe, when I see it: For, your former paper affirms, that those times were very dark for matter of fact, and will be so still for Me if there be no clearer Arguments to prove it, then those you mention: for because there were diverse *Congregations in Jerusalem*; Ergo, what? are there not divers *Parishes in one Diocese*? (your two first I answer but as one Argument) and because the *Apostles met with those of the inferiour Orders, for Acts of Government*; what then? even so in these times do the *Deans and Chapters*, and many times those of the *inferiour Clergy* assist the *Bishops*; but I hope you will not pretend to say, that there was an equality between the *Apostles* and other *Presbyters*, which not being, doth (in My judgement) quite invalidate these Arguments: And if you can say no more for the Churches of *Corinth, Ephesus, Thessalonica, &c* then you have for *Jerusalem*, it will gain no ground

ground on Me : As for Saint *Jerome*, it is well known that he was no great friend to *Bishops*, as being none himself, yet take him altogether, and you will finde that he makes a clear distinction between a *Bishop* and a *Presbyter*, as your self confesses ; but the truth is, he was angry with those who maintained *Deacons* to be equal to *Presbyters*.

5. I am well satisfied with the explanation of your meaning concerning the word *Pallacy*, though I think to have had reason for saying what I did: but by your favour, I do not conceive that you have answered the strength of My Argument, for when you and I differ upon the interpretation of *Scripture*, and I appeal to the practise of the *Primitive Church*, and the universal consent of the *Fathers*, to be judge between us, Me thinks you should either finde a fitter, or submit to what I offer ; neither of which (to My understanding) you have yet done ; nor have you shown how, waying those Judges I appeal unto, the mischief, of the interpretation by *private Spirits*, can be prevented. Indeed, if I cannot prove by *Antiquity*, that *Ordination* and *Jurisdiction* belongs to *Bishops*, (thereby clearly distinguishing them from other *Presbyters*) I shall then begin to misdoubt many of My former foundations ; (as for *Bishop Davenant*, he is none of those, to whom I have appealed, or will submit unto) but for the exception you take to *Fathers*, I take it to be a *begging of the Question* ; as likewise those great discoveries of secrets, not known to former Ages, I shall call *new-invented fancies*, until particularly you shall prove the contrary ; and for your *Roman Authors*, it is no great wonder for them to seek shifts whereby to maintain *Novelties*, as well as the *Puritans*. As for *Church-ambition*, it doth not at all terminate, in seeking to be *Pope* ; for I take it to be no point of humility to endeavour to be independent of *Kings*, it being possible, that *Papacy* in a multitude may be as dangerous as in one.

6. As I am no Judge over the Reformed Churches, so neither do I censure them, for many things may be avowable upon necessity, which otherwayes are unlawful; but know, once for all, that I esteem nothing the better, because it is done by such a particular Church (though it were by the Church of England, which I avow most to reverence) but I esteem that Church most, which comes nearest to the purity of the primitive Doctrine and Discipline, as I believe this doth. Now concerning Ordination, I bad you prove that Presbyters without a Bishop might lawfully Ordain, which yet I conceive you have not done; for, 2 Tim. 1.6. it is evident, that Saint Paul was at Timothies Ordination; and albeit that all the Seventy had their power immediately from Christ, yet it is as evident that our Saviour made a clear distinction between the twelve Apostles and the rest of the Disciples, which is set down by three of the Evangelists, whereof S. Mark calls it an Ordination, Mark 3.15. and S. Luke sayes, And of them he chose twelve, &c. Luke 6. 13. onely S. Matthew doth but barely enumerate them by their name of distinction, Matth. 10.1. I suppose out of modesty, himself being one, and the other two being none, are more particular. For the administration of Baptisme, giving, but not granting what you say, it makes more for Me, then you: but I will not engage upon new Questions, not necessary for My purpose.

7. For My Oath, you do well not to enter upon those Questions you mention; and you have done as well to have omitted your instance; but, out of discretion I desire you to collect your Answer out of the last Section; and for your Argument, though the intention of My Oath be for the good of the Church collective, therefore can I be dispensed withal by others then the representative body? certainly no more then the people can dispense with Me for any Oathes I took in their favours, without the two Houses of Parliament; as for future Reformatiōs, I will on-

ly tell you that *incommodum non solvit Argumentum*.

8. For the King My Fathers opinion, if it were not to spend time (as I believe) needlessly, I could prove by living and written testimony, all, and more, then I have said of Him, for His perswasion in these points which I now maintain; and for your *Defensive War*; as I do acknowledge it a great sin for any King to oppress the Church, so I hold it absolutely unlawful for Subjects (upon any pretence whatsoever) to make War (though *defensive*) against their *lawful Sovereign*; against which no lesse proofs will make Me yeeld but Gods Word; and let Me tell you, that upon such points as these, Instances, as well as Comparisons, are odious.

9. Lastly, you mistake the *Quere* in My first paper to which this pretends to answer; for My Question was not concerning *force of Arguments* (for I never doubted the lawfulness of it) but *force of Armes*, to which, I conceive, it sayes little or nothing, unlesse (after My example) you refer Me to the former Section; that which it doth, is meerly the *asking of the Question*, after a fine discourse of the several wayes of *perswading* rather then *forcing* of conscience: I close up this paper, desiring you to take notice, that there is none of these Sections but I could have enlarged to many more lines, some to whole pages; yet I chose to be thus brief, knowing you will understand more by a word then others by a long discourse; trusting likewise to your ingenuity, that *reason epitomized*, will weigh as much with you as if it were at large.

C. R.

June 22. 1646.



For His MAJESTY.
Concerning the authority of the Fa-
thers, and practise of the Church, June 2. 1646.

Mr. Alex. Hendersons third Paper.

HAVING in my former papers pressed the steps of your Majesties Propositions, and finding by your Majesties last Paper, Controversies to be multiplied, (I believe) beyond your Majesties intentions in the beginning; As concerning the *Reforming power; The Reformation of the Church of England: The difference betwixt a Bishop and a Presbyter; The warrants of Presbyterian Government; The Authority of Interpreting Scripture; The taking and keeping of publick Oathes; the forcing of Conscience; and many other inferiour and subordinate Questions, which are Branches of those main Controversies: All which in a satisfactory manner to determine in few words, I leave to more presuming Spirits, who either see no knots of Difficulties, or can finde a way rather to cut them asunder, then to unloose them: yet will I not use any Tergiversation; nor do I decline to offer my humble Opinion with the Reasons thereof, in the own time concerning each of them; which in obedience to your Majesties command, I have begun to do already. Onely Sir, by your Majesties favourable permission, for the greater expedition; and that the present velitations may be brought to some issue, I am bold to intreat that the Method may be a little altered, and I may have leave now to begin at a principle*

ple, and that which should have been, *inter precognita*; I mean the Rule, by which we are to proceed, and to determine the present controverſie of Church policy; without which we will be led into a Labyrinth, and want a thred to winde us out again. In your Ma-jeſties firſt paper, the *universal cuſtom of the Primitive Church*, is conceived to be the Rule. In the ſecond paper, Section the 5. The *praſtiſe of the Primitive Church*, and the *universal conſent of the Fathers*, is made a convincing Argument, when the *Interpretation of Scripture* is doubtful; in your third paper, Sect. 5. the *praſtiſe of the Primitive Church*, and the *universal conſent of the Fathers*, is made Judge; and I know, that nothing is more ordinary in this Queſtion, then to alleage *Antiquity*, *perpetual Succeſſion*, *universal conſent of the Fathers*, and the *universal praſtiſe of the Primitive Church*, according to the Rule of *Auguſtine*, *Quod univerſa tenet Eccleſia, nec à Conſilio inſtitutum, ſed ſemper retentumeſt, non, niſi Authoritate Apoſtolicâ, traditum rectiſſime creditur*. There is in this Argument at the firſt view, ſo much appearance of Reaſon, that it may much work upon a modeſt minde; yet being well examined and rightly weighed it will be found to be of no great weight; for beſide that the minor will never be made good in the behalf of a *Diocæſan Biſhop*, having ſole power of Ordination and ju-riſdiction, there being a multitude of Fathers, who maintain that *Biſhop and Preſbyter are of one and the ſame Order*; I ſhall humbly offer ſome few Conſiderations about the major, becauſe it hath been an inlet to many dangerous Errours, and hath proved a mighty hinderance and obſtruction to Reformation of Religion.

1. Firſt, I deſire it may be conſidered, that whiles ſome make two rules for defining Controverſies; the Word of God and antiquity, (which they will have to be received with equal veneration) or, as the Pa-piſts call them, *Canonical Authority*, and *Catholical tra-dition*,

dition; and others, make Scripture to be the onely Rule, and Antiquity the authentick Interpreter; the latter of the two seems to me to be the greater error: because the first setteth up a parallel, in the same degree with Scripture; but this would create a Superior, in a higher degree above Scripture: For the interpretation of the Fathers shall be the *Διόν*, and accounted the very Cause and Reason for which we conceive and believe such a place of Scripture to have such a sence; and thus, Men shall have Dominion over our Faith, against 2 Cor. 1. 24. Our faith shall stand in the wisdom of man, and not in the power of God, 1 Cor. 2. 5. and Scripture shall be of private interpretation; For the prophesie came not of old by the will of man, 2 Pet. 1. 20. 22. *Nisi homini Deus placuerit, Deus non erit, Homo jam Deo propitius esse debet*, saith Tertullian.

2. That Scripture cannot be authentically interpreted but by Scripture, is manifest from Scripture: The Levites gave the sence of the Law by no other means, but by Scripture it self, *Neb. 8. 8.* Our Saviour for example to us, gave the true sence of Scripture, against the depravations of Satan, by comparing Scripture with Scripture, and not by alleaging any Testimonies out of the Rabbins, *Mat. 4.* and the Apostles, in their Epistles, used no other help but the diligent comparing of Prophetical writings; like as the Apostle Peter, will have us to compare the clearer light of the Apostles, with the more obscure light of the Prophets, 2 Pet. 1. 19. And when we betake our selves to the Fathers, we have need to take heed, that, with the Papists, we accuse not the Scriptures of obscurity or imperfection.

3. The Fathers themselves (as they are cited by Protestant Writers) hold this Conclusion, that Scripture is not to be interpreted, but by Scripture it self. To this purpose, amongst many other Testimonies, they bring the saying of Tertullian, *Surge veritas, ipsa Scripturæ tuas interpretare, quam consuetudo non novit, nam si nosset, non esset*: if it knew Scripture, it would be

be ashamed of it self, and cease to bee any more.

4. That some Errors have been received, and continued for a long time, in the Church: The Error of *Free-will* beginning at *Justin Martyr*, continued till the time of *Reformation*, although it was rejected by *Augustine*, as the *Divine Right of Episcopacy* was opposed by others. The Errour about the *Vision of God*, That the *Souls of the Saints departed*, see not the face of God, till the *Judgement of the Great Day*, was held by Universal Consent: the same may be said of the error of the *Millenaries*; and, which more nearly toucheth upon the present Question, the Ancients erred grossly about the *Antichrist* and *Mystery of Iniquity*, which did begin to work in the dayes of the Apostles. Many other Instances might be brought to prove the universal practise of the Church, as were not warranted by the Apostles; as in the Rites of *Baptisme* and *Prayer*; and the forming up and drawing together of the Articles of that Creed, that is called *Symbolum Apostolicum*; the observation of many *Feasts* and *Fasts* both Anniversary and Weekly.

5 That it is not a matter so incredible, or impossible, as some would have it appear to be, for the Primitive Church to have made a sudden defection from the Apostolical purity: The people of *Israel*, in the short time of *Moses* his absence on the Mount, turned aside quickly, and fell into horrible Idolatry, *Exo. 32.* soon after the death of *Josuah*, and the Elders that had seen the great works w^{ch} the Lord had done for *Israel*, there arose another Generation after them, which did evil in the sight of the Lord, *Judg. 2 & 7.* soon after the building of the Temple, and settling of Religion by *David* and *Solomon*, the worship of God was defiled with Idolatry: when *Rehoboam* had established the Kingdom, he forsook the Law of the Lord, & all *Israel* with him, *2 Chron. 12. 1.* And the Apostle sayes to the Galatians, *Galat. 1. 6.* I marvel that you are so soon removed unto another Gospel: Why then shall wee think

think it strange, that in the matter of Discipline, there should be a sudden defection, especially it being begun in the time of the Apostles? I know it is a common Opinion, but I believe there be no strong reasons for it, that the Church which was nearest the times of the Apostles was the most pure and perfect Church.

6. That it is impossible to come to the knowledge of the Universal consent and practice of the Primitive Church: for many of the Fathers wrote nothing at all, many of their writings are perished, (it may be that both of these have dissented from the rest) many of the writings which we have under their names are supposititious, and counterfeit, especially about Episcopacy which was the foundation of Papal Primacy: The Rule of *Augustine* afore mentioned doth too much favour Traditions, and is not to be admitted, without cautions and exceptions.

Many the like considerations may be added; but these may be sufficient to prove, that the unanimous consent of the Fathers, and the universal practice of the Primitive Church, is no sure ground of Authentic interpretation of Scripture. I remember of a grave Divine in *Scotland*, much honoured by King *James* of happy memory, who did often profess that he did learn more of one page of *John Calvin*, then of a whole Treatise of *Augustine*: nor can there be any good reason, (many there be against it) why the Ancients should be so far preferred to the Modern Doctors of the Reformed Churches, and the one in a manner Deified, and the other vilified: It is but a poor Reason that some give, *Fama miratrix senioris ævi*, and is abundantly answered by the Apologist for Divine Providence. If your Majesty be still unsatisfied concerning the Rule, I know not to what purpose I should proceed or trouble your Majesty any more.

Newcastle,
July 2. 1646.

For



For Mr. *Alex. Henderson.*

His MAJESTIES fourth Paper.

July 3. 1646.

I Shall very willingly follow the *method* you have begun in your third Paper; but I do not conceive, that My last Paper multiplies more Controversies then My first gave occasion for; having been so far from augmenting the Heads of our Disputation, that I have omitted the answering many things, in both your Papers, expressly to avoid raising of new and needlesse Questions; desiring to have onely so many debated, as are simply necessary to shew, whether or not, *I may with a safe conscience give way to the alteration of Church-Government in England*; and indeed I like very well, to begin with the *settling of the Rule*, by which we are to proceed, and determine the present Controversie; to which purpose (as I conceive) My third paper shews you an excellent way; for there, I offer you a *Judge between us*, or desire you to *find out a better*, which, to My judgement you have not yet done, (though you have sought to invalidate Mine) For, if you understand to have offered the *Scripture*, though no Man shall pay more reverence, nor submit more humbly to it, then My self; yet we must finde some Rule to judge betwixt us, when you and I differ upon the *interpretation* of the self-same Text, or it can never determine our Questions; as for example, I say you misapply that of 2 Cor. I. 14. to *Me*, (let others answer for themselves) for I know not how I make *other men to have dominion over my Faith*, when I
make

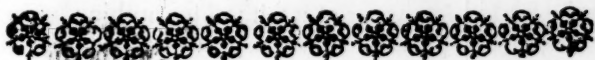
make them onely serve to approve *My Reason*; nor do I conceive how, 1 Cor. 2. 5. can be applyed to this purpose; For there Saint Paul onely shews the difference between *Divine* and *Humane Eloquence*, making no mention of any kinde of Interpretation throughout the whole Chapter, as indeed Saint Peter does, 2 Pet. 1. 20. which I conceive makes for *Me*; for, since that no prophesie of Scripture is of any private interpretation: First, I infer, that Scripture is to be Interpreted; for else, the Apostle would have omitted the word *private*: Secondly, that at least the consent of many learned Divines is necessary, and so *à fortiori*, that of the *Catholick Church*, ought to be an *authenticke Judge*, when Men differ: And it is a good Argument? because (*Matth. 4. 4. 7. 10.*) Scripture is best interpreted by it self, therefore that all other interpretations are unlawful? certainful you cannot think: Thus having shewed you that we differ, about the *meaning* of the Scripture, and are like to do so; certainly there ought to be for this, as well as other things, a *Rule* or a *Judge* between us, to determine our differences, or, at least, to make our Probations and Arguments *Relevant*; therefore evading, for this rime, to answer your six *Considerations* (not I assure you for the difficulty of them, but the starting of new Questions) I desire you onely to shew Me a better, then what I have offered unto you.

C.R.

Newcastle.

July 3. 1646.

For



For *Mr. Alex. Henderson.*

A particular Answer to *Mr. Alex. Hendersons*, July 3. 16. 1646.

His MAJESTIES fifth Paper.

VNtil you shall finde out a fitter way to decide our *Difference in Opinion concerning Interpretation of Scripture* then the *Consent of the Fathers*, and the *Universal practice of the Primitive Church*, I cannot but passe you My Judgement anent those six *Considerations*, which you offered to invalidate those *Authorities*, that I so much reverence.

1. In the first you mention *two Rules for defining of Controversies*, and seek a most old way to confute them, as I think; For you alleage, that *there is more attributed to them*, then I believe you can prove, by the consent of most learned Men (there being no Question, but there are alwayes some flattering Fools that can commend nothing but with hyperbolick expressions) and you know that *supposito quolibet, sequitur quidlibet*: besides do you think, that albeit some ignorant Fellowes, should attribute more power to Presbyters, then is really due unto them, that thereby their just reverence and authority is diminished? So I see no reason why I may not safely maintain, that the *Interpretation of Fathers*, is a most excellent *strengthening* to My opinion, though others should attribute the *Cause and Reason* of their Faith unto it.

2. As there is no Question, but that *Scripture* is the far *best Interpreter* of it self, so I see nothing in this, negatively proved, to exclude any other, notwithstanding your positive affirmation:

3. Nor in the next, for I hope you will not be the first to condemn your self, Me, and innumerable Others, who yet unblamably have not tyed themselves to this Rule.

4. If in this you onely intend to prove that *Errors* were alwayes *breeding in the Church*, I shall not deny it, yet that makes little (as I conceive) to your purpose; but if your meaning be, to accuse the *universal practise of the Church* with *Error*; I must say it is a very bold undertaking; and (if you cannot justify your self, by clear places in *Scripture*) much to be blamed, wherein you must not alledge, that to be universally received, which was not, as I dare say, that the *Controversie about free will*, was never yet decided, by *Oecumenical, or General Council*; nor must you presume to call that an *Error*, which really the *Catholick Church* maintained (as in *Rites of Baptisme, forms of prayer, observation of Feasts, Fasts, &c.*) except you can prove it so by the Word of God, and it is not enough to say, that such a thing was not warranted by the *Apostles*, but you must prove by their *Doctrine*, that such a thing was *unlawful*, or else the *practise of the Church* is warrant enough for Me to follow and obey that *Custom* whatsoever it be, and think it good, and shall believe that the *Apostles Creed* was made by them, (such Reverence I bear to the *Churches Tradition*;) until other Authors be certainly found out.

5. I was taught that *de posse ad esse* was no good argument; and indeed to Me it is incredible, that any *Custom of the Catholick Church* was erroneous, which was not contradicted by *Orthodox, learned Men*, in the times of their first practise, as is easily perceived that all those *Defections* were, (some of them may be justly called *Rebellions*) which you mention.

6. I deny it is *impossible* (though I confesse it *difficult*) to come to the knowlege of the *Universal Consent*, and practise of the *primitive Church*, therefore I confesse a Man ought to be *careful* how to believe things of this nature ; wherefore I conceive this to be onely an Argument for *Caution*.

My Conclusion is, that albeit I never esteemed any *Authority* equal to the *Scriptures* ; yet I do think the *unanimous Consent of the Fathers*, and the *universal practise of the primitive Church*, to be the *best and most Authentical Interpreters of Gods word*, and consequently the fittest Judges between Me and you, when we differ, until you shall finde Me better : For example, I think you for the present the best Preacher in *Newcastle*, yet I believe you may erre, and possibly a better Preacher may come, but till then I must retain My Opinion.

Newcastle,

C. R.

July 16.

1646.

The



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and the copies did to be
written I shall be glad to
contribute to the
cause of the
abolition of
slavery in
the United States.



The Papers which passed between His MAJESTY and the *Ministers* attending the Commissioners of Parliament at the Treaty at *Newport* in the Isle of Wight, *An.Dom. 1648.*
concerning *Episcopacy.*

His *Majesties* first Paper concerning
Episcopacy.

Charls R.

I Conceive that Episcopal Government is most consonant to the Word of God, and of an Apostolical institution, as it appears by the Scripture, to have been practised by the Apostles themselves, & by them committed, & derived to particular persons as their Substitutes or Successors therein (as for ordaining Presbyters and Deacons, giving rules concerning Christian Discipline, and exercising censures over Presbyters and others) and hath ever since to these last times been exercised by Bishops in all the Churches of Christ, and therefore I cannot in conscience consent to abolish the said Government; notwithstanding this My persuasion I shall be glad to be informed, if our Saviour and the Apostles did so leave the Church at liberty

as they might totally alter or change the Church-Government at their pleasure: which if you can make appear to Me, then I will confesse that one of My great Scruples is clean taken away: And then there onely remains;

That being by My Coronation Oath obliged to maintain Episcopal Government, as I found it settled to My hands: whither I may consent to the abolishing thereof until the same shall be evidenced to Me to be contrary to the Word of God.

Newport, 2 Octob. 1648.

An humble Answer returnd to
your M A J E S T I E S Paper,
delivered to us, Octob. 2.
1648:

May it please your Majesty,

WE do fully agree without hesitation, That these Scriptures cited in the margent of your Paper, Acts 14.23. Acts 6.6. 1 Cor. 16.1. 1 Cor. 14. 1 Cor. 5.3. 3 John 9.10. do prove, That the Apostles did Ordain Presbyters and Deacons, give rules concerning Christian Discipline, and had power of censures over Presbyters and others; and that these places of Scripture, 1 Tim. 5.22. Titus 1.5. 1 Tim. 5.19. Titus 3.10. do prove that Timothy and Titus had power to ordain Presbyters and Deacons, and to exercise Censures over others; and that the second and third Chapters of the Revelations do prove, That the Angels of the Churches had power of governing of the Churches

Churches, and exercising Censures: But that either the Apostles, or *Timothy* and *Titus*, or the Angels of the Churches were Bishops, as Bishops are distinct from Presbyters, exercising Episcopal Government in that sense; or that the Apostles did commit and derive to any particular persons as their Substitutes and Successors, any such Episcopal Government; or that this is proved in the least measure by the Scriptures alledged, we do as fully deny: And therefore do humbly deny also, That Episcopal Government is therefore most consonant to the Word of God, and of Apostolical institution, or proved so to be by these Scriptures. None of these were Bishops, or practised Episcopal Government, as Bishops are distinct from Presbytery; neither is such an Officer of the Church as a Bishop distinct from a Presbyter, to be found in the New Testament (by which we humbly conceive, That our faith and conscience touching this point ought to be concluded: The Name, Office, and Work of Bishop and Presbyter being one and the same in all things, and never in the least distinguished, and is clearly evident, *Titus* 1.5.7. *For this cause left I thee in Crete, that thou shouldest set in order the things that are wanting, and ordain presbyters in every City, as I had appointed thee, for a Bishop must be blamelesse.* In which place the Apostles reasoning were altogether invalid and inconsequent, if presbyter and Bishop were not the same Office, as well as they have the same name.

The same is manifest, *Acts* 20.17,28. And from *Miletus* he sent to *Ephesus*, and called the presbyters of the Church, to whom he gave this charge, *Verse* 28. *Take heed therefore unto your selves, and to all the flock, over which the Holy Ghost hath made you Bishops, to feed and govern the Church of God.* Where we observe, That the Apostle being to leave these presbyters, and never to see their faces more, *verse* 38. doth charge them with the feeding and governing of the Church, as being

ing Bishops of the Holy Ghosts making : But that the Holy Ghost did make any superiour or higher kinde of Bishops then these common Presbyters, is not to be found in that, or any other Text.

And that under the mouth of 2 or 3 witnessses this assertion of ours may stand; we adde to what we have already said, That in the first of Peter 5. 1. 2. *The Presbyters which are among you, I exhort, who am also a Presbyter, feed the flock of God which is among you; performing the Office of Bishops.* Where it appears plain to us, That under the words used in this place, is exprest whatsoever work the Presbyters do, more for the government or good of the Church, otherwise then is there expressly enjoyned unto Presbyters. By all which that hath been said, The point is rendred most clear to the judgement of most men, both ancient and of latter times, That there is no such Officer to be found in the Scriptures of the New Testament, as a Bishop distinct from a Presbyter : Neither doth the Scripture afford us the least notice of any qualification required in a Bishop, that is not required in a Presbyter; nor any Ordination to the Office of a Bishop, distinct from a Presbyter; nor any work or duty charged upon a Bishop, which Presbyters are not enjoyned to do; nor any greater honour or dignity put upon them. For that double honour which the Apostles speak of, 1 Tim. 5. 17. *As due to Presbyters that rule well*, is with a note of especially affixed to that act or work of labouring in the Word of Doctrine; which is not that act wherein Bishops have challenged a singularity or peculiar eminency above the Presbyter.

To that which your Majesty doth conceive, That Episcopal Government was practised by Apostles themselves; We humbly answer, That the Apostles, as they were the highest Officers of the Church of Christ, so they were Extraordinary in respect of their Commission and gifts, and office, and distinguished from

form all other Officers, 1 Cor. 12. 28. God hath set some in the Church; *First Apostles, Secondly Prophets, Thirdly Teachers*, Ephesians 4. 11. *Christ gave some Apostles, and some Prophets, and some Evangelists, and some Pastors, and some Teachers*; Whereby the Apostles are distinguished from Pastors, and Teachers, who are the ordinary Officers of the Church for preaching the Word, and Government: that they had power and authority to ordain Church-Officers, and to exercise censures in all Churches we affirm, and withall, that no other persons or Officers of the Church may challenge or assume to themselves such power in that respect alone, because the Apostles practised it, except such power belong unto them in common, as well as to the Apostles, by warrant of the Scripture, for that Government which they practised was Apostolical, according to that peculiar Commission and authority which they had, and no otherwise to be called Episcopal; then, as their Office was so comprehensive as they had power to do the work of any, or all other Church-Officers; In which respect they call themselves *Presbyteri, Diaconi*, (but never *Episcopi* in distinct sense) and therefore we humbly crave leave to say, That to argue the Apostles to have practised Episcopal Government, because they ordained other Officers, and exercised censures, is, as if we should argue a Justice of peace to be a Constable, because he doth that which a Constable doth in some particulars. Its manifest that the Office of Bishops and Presbyters were not distinct in the Apostles, they did not act as Bishops in some acts, and as Presbyters in other acts; the distinction of Presbyters and Bishops being made by men in after times.

And whereas your Majesty doth conceive, That the Episcopal Government, was by the Apostles committed and delivered to particular persons, as their Substitutes or their Successors therein

(as for ordaining Presbyters and Deacons, giving rules concerning Christian Discipline, and exercising censures over Presbyters and others) seeming by the alledged places of Scripture to instance in *Timothy* and *Titus*, and the Angels of the Churches. We humbly answer,

1. And first to that of *Timothy* and *Titus*, we grant, That *Timothy* and *Titus* had authority and power of ordaining Presbyters and Deacons, and of exercising censures over Presbyters & others, though we cannot say they had this power, as the Apostles Substitutes or Successours in Episcopal Government, nor that they exercised the power they had, as being Bishops in the sense of your Majesty, but as extraordinary Officers or Evangelists, which Evangelists were an Office in the Church, distinct from pastors and Teachers, *Ephesians* 4.11. And that they were Evangelists, it appears by their being sent up and down by the Apostles, or taken along with them in company to several Churches, as the necessity and occasion of the Church did require; the one of them being expressly called an Evangelist, *2 Tim.* 4.5. And neither of them being any where in Scriptures called Bishop, neither were they fixed to *Ephesus* and *Crete*, as Bishops in the Churches committed to them, but removed from thence to other places, and never, for ought appears in Scriptures, returned to them again: And it seems clear to us, that neither their abode at *Ephesus* and *Crete* was for any long time, nor so intended by the Apostle, for he imployes them there upon occasional businesse, and expresseth himself in such manner, (*I besought thee to abide still at Ephesus, when I went into Macedonia, that thou mightest charge some, that they teach no other Doctrine, 1 Tim.* 1.3. For this cause left I thee in *Crete, Titus* 1.5. As doth not carry the fixing or constituting of a Bishop in a place as a perpetual Governor: And it is as manifest, that they were both of them called away from these places, *2 Tim.* 4.9. Do thy diligence

diligence to come to me shortly, Titus 3. 12. Be diligent to come to me to Nicopolis; so that they may as well be called Bishops of other City, or Church where they had any considerable abode, as they are pretended to have been of *Ephesus* and *Crete*, as they are called by the postscripts of these Apostles, the credit of which postscripts we cannot build upon in this point.

2. Secondly, to that of the Angels of the Churches, the Ministers of the Churches are called Stars and Angels, which denominations are Metaphorical and a Mystery, Rev. 1. 20. The mystery of the seven Stars, Angels in respect of their mission or sending; Stars in respect of their station and shining. And it seems strange to us, that so many expresse testimonies of Scriptures, and allegorical denominations or mysteries should be opposed; These Angels being nowhere called Bishops in vulgar acceptation, nor the word Bishop used in any of *Johns* writings, who calls himself presbyter, nor any mention of superiority of one presbyter to another, but in *Diotrephes* affecting it. And as to that which may be said that Epistles are directed to one; We answer, that a number of persons are in the mysterious and prophetick writings exprest in singlars. And we humbly conceive, that being written in an Epistolary stile (for they are as Letters or Epistles to the Churches) these writings are directed as Letters to collective or representative bodies use to be; that is to one, but are intended and meant to the body in meeting assembled: which that they were so intended, is clear to us, both because there were in *Ephesus* Bishops, and Presbyters one and the same, to whom the Apostle at his farewell commended the Government of the Church, and by divers expressions in these Epistles, as Rev. 2. 24. To you and to the rest in *Thyatira*, by which distinction of you and the rest, we conceive the Church governments (which were more then one) and the people to be signified, and so cannot consent

that any singular person had majority over the rest, or sole power of exercising Church censures and Government spoken of in these Chapters.

Having thus (as we humbly conceive) proved by pregnant places of Scripture compared together, that the Apostles themselves did not institute or practise Episcopal Government, nor commit and derive it to particular persons as their Substitutes or Successors therein. We shall in further discharge of our duty to, and for, the more clear and full satisfaction of your Majesty in this point, briefly declare into what Officers hands, the ordinary and standing Offices of the Church were transmitted and derived by, and from the Apostles. The Apostles had no Successors in *euangelium gradum*: The Apostolical office was not derived by succession, being instituted by Christ, by extraordinary and special commission; but for the ordinary and standing use and service of the Church, there were ordained onely two orders of Offices, *viz.* Bishops and Deacons, which the Apostle expresseth, *Phil. 1. 1. To all the Saints in Christ Jesus which are at Philippi, with the Bishops and Deacons*: And onely of them doth the Apostle give the due characters of Officers: *1 Tim. 3. 2. 8.* From both which places of Scripture we conclude with ancient Expositors both Greek and Latine, that Bishops are the same with Presbyters, & besides Presbyters there is no mention of any other Order, but that of Deacons; of both w^{ch} Orders there were in the Apostles times, in one City more then one, as in *Philippi* and *Ephesus*. And we humbly offer to your Majesty as observable; That though one Order might be superiour to another Order, yet in the same Order of Officers, there was not any one superiour to others of the same Order; No Apostle was above an Apostle, no Evangelist above an Evangelist, no Presbyter above a Presbyter, no Deacon above a Deacon: And so we conclude this part, that since Church-Officers are instituted and set in the Church by God, or Jesus Christ:

Christ : and that Ordination by or in which the Office is conveyd, it is of no other Officers but of Presbyters & Deacons ; therefore there are no other Orders of ordinary & standing Officers in the Churches of Christ.

As for the ages immediatly succeeding the Apostles, we answer , 1. Our faith reacheth no further then the holy Scriptures; no humane testimony can beget any more then a humanen faith.

2. We answer, that it is agreed upon by learned men, as well such as contend for Episcopacy as others ; that the times immediatly succeeding the *Apostles*, are very dark in respect of the History of the Church.

3. That the most unquestionable Record of those times, gives clear testimony to our assertion, *viz.* The Epistle of *Clement* to the *Corinthians*, who reciting the order of Church Officers, expressly limits them to two, Bishops and Deacons : And they whom in one place he call'd Bishops, he alwayes afterwards nameth Presbyters. The Epistles of *Ignatius* pretend indeed to the next antiquity , but are by some suspected as wholly spurious, and proved by *Videlius* to be so mixed, that it is hard, if not impossible, to know what parts of them are genuine. Besides *B. Usher* in his last Observations on them, *cap. 18. pag. 238.* confesseth that of the twelve of his epistles, six are counterfeit, the other six mixt, and none of them in every respect accounted sincere and genuine.

Fourthly, we grant that not long after the Apostles times, Bishops in some superiority to Presbyters , are by the writers of those times reported to be in the Church , but they were set up not as a Divine Institution, but as an Ecclesiastical, (as afterwards both Arch-Bishops and Patriarchs were,) which is clear by Doctor *Keynolds* his epistle to Sir Francis Knowles; wherein he shews out of Bishop *Jewel*, that *Ambrose*, *Chrysostome*, *Jerome*, *Augustine*, & many more holy Fathers, together with the Apostle *Paul*, agree that by the word of God there is no difference between a Presbyter and a Bishop: And that *Medina* in the Council of Trent affirms not only the same Fathers, but also another *Jerome*; *Theodoret*, *Primasius*, *Sedulius*, and *Theophilact* to be of the same judgement : and that with

them agreed *Oecumenius*, *Anselm* Archbishop of Canterbury, and another *Anselm*, *Gregory* and *Gratian*, and and after them many others; that it was inrol'd in the Canon Law for sound and catholick Doctrine, and publickly taught by learned men, and adds, that all who have laboured in the reformation of the Church for these five hundred years, have taught that all Pastors, be they instituted Bishops or Priests, have equal authority and power by Gods Word. The same way goes *Lunbard* Master of the sentences, and Father of the Schoolmen, who speaking of Presbyters and Deacons, saith the Primitive Churches had those Orders onely; and that we have the Apostles precept for them alone; with him agree many of the most eminent of that kinde, and generally all the Canonists; to these we may adde *Sextus Senensis*, who testifies for himself and many others, and *Cassander* who was called by one of the German Emperours, as one of singular ability and integrity, to inform him and resolve his conscience in questions of that nature, who saies, it is agreed among all in the Apostles times, there was no difference betwixt a Bishop and a Presbyter.

For a conclusion we adde, that the doctrine which we have herein propounded to your Majesty concerning the identity of the order of Bishops and Presbyters, is no other then the doctrine published by King *Henry* the eighth, 1543. For all his Subjects to receive, seen and allowed by the Lords both Spiritual and Temporal, with the nether House of Parliament: of these two Orders onely (so saith his Book,) that is to say, Priests and Deacons; the Scripture maketh expresse mention, and how they were conferr'd of by the Apostles by prayer, and imposition of their hands: by all which it seems evident, that the order of Episcopacy, as distinct from Presbyters, is but an Ecclesiastical institution, and therefore not unalterable.

Lastly, we answer, that that Episcopal Government
which

which at first obtained in the Church, did really and substantially differ from Episcopal Government, which the Honourable Houses of Parliament desire the abolition of. The Bishop of these times was one presiding in, and joyning with the Presbytery of his Church ruling with them, and not without them, either created and made by the Presbyters choosing out one among themselves, as in *Rome* and *Alexandria*, or chosen by the Church, and confirmed by three or more of his Neighbours of like dignity within the same precinct. Lesser Towns and Villages had and might have had Bishops in them as well as populous and eminent Cities, until the Council of *Sardis* decreed, that Villages and small Cities should have no Bishops, lest the name and authority of a Bishop might thereby come into contempt; but of one claiming as his due and right to himself alone, as a superiour order or degree, all power about Ordination of Presbyters and Deacons, and all jurisdictions either to exercise himself, or delegate to whom he will of the Laity or Clergy, as they distinguish according to the judgement and practise of these in our times; we read not till the latter and corrupter ages of the Church.

By all which it appears, that the present Hierarchy, (the abolition whereof is desired by the Honourable Houses may be accordingly abolished;) and yet possibly the Bishops of these primitive times might be, they are so far differing one from another.

In answer to that part of your Majesties paper, wherein you inquire whether our Saviour and his Apostles did so leave the Church at liberty, as they might totally alter or change the Church-government at their pleasure; we humbly conceive that there are substantials belonging to Church-government, such

are appointed by Christ and his Apostles, which are not in the Churches liberty to alter at pleasure: But as for Arch-Bishops, &c. we hope it will appear unto your Majesties conscience, that they are none of the Church Governours appointed by our Saviour and his Apostles; we beseech your Majesty, rather to look to the original of them then Succession.



**HIS MAJESTIES Answer to the
Paper delivered to Him by
the Ministers attending
the PARLIAMENTS
Commissioners.**

Concerning Church-Government.

C.R.

HIS Majesty upon perusal of your Answer to His Paper of the second of *October* 1648. findeth that you acknowledge the several Scriptures cited in the Margin, to prove the thing for which they are cited, viz. that the Apostles in their own persons, that *Timothy* and *Titus* by authority derived from them, and the Angels of the Churches had power of Church-Government, and did or might actually exercise the same in all the three several branches in His paper specified; and so in effect you grant all that is desired. For the Bishops challenge no more or other power

to belong unto them in respect of their Episcopal offices, as it is distinct from that of Presbyters, then what properly falleth under one of these three: Ordaining, giving Rules, and Censures.

But you presently after deny the persons that exercised the power aforesaid to have been Bishops, or had exercised Episcopal government in that sense as Bishops are distinct from Presbyters: wherein you do in effect deny the very same thing you had before granted: For Episcopal Government in that sense being nothing else but the government of the Churches within a certain precinct (commonly called a Diocese) committed to one single person, with sufficient authority over the Presbyters and people of those Churches for that end; since the substance of the thing it self in all the three forementioned particulars is found in the Scriptures, unlesse you will strive about names and words (which tendeth not to profit, but to the puzzelling and subverting of those that seek after truth) you must also acknowledge that Episcopal Government in the sense aforesaid may be sufficiently proved from Scripture.

In that which you say next, and for proof thereof insist upon three several Texts, *Titus* 1.5.7. *Acts* 20. 17.18. 1 *Pet.* 5.1.2. His Majesty conceives (as to the present businesse) that the most that can be proved from all or any of those places, is this, That the word Bishop is there used to signifie a Presbyter, and that consequently the Office and work mentioned in those places as the Office and work of a Bishop, are the Office and work of a Presbyter; which is confessed on all sides, although his Majesty is not sure that the proof will reach so far in each of those places. But from thence to infer an absolute Identity of the Functions of a Bishop and a Presbyter is a fallacy, which his Majesty observes to run in a manner quite along your whole answer: but it appears from the Scriptures, by what you have granted,

that

that single persons, (as *Timothy* and *Titus* for example) had authority to perform such acts and Offices of Church-government, as his Majesty hath not yet found by any thing represented unto him by you or any other from the Scripture, that a single Presbyter ever had authority to perform; which is enough to prove, that there may be community of names in some places, notwithstanding the Functions themselves are in other places by their proper work sufficiently distinguished.

But for the name *Episcopus* or Bishop, his Majesty hath long since learned from those that are skilful in the Greek tongue, that it imports properly no more than an Overseer, one that hath the charge or inspection of some thing committed unto him, as he that is set to watch a Beacon, or to keep Sheep; whence in the New Testament, and in the Ecclesiastical use, it is applyed to such persons as have the care and inspection of the Churches of Christ committed unto them in *Spiritualibus*; as both Bishops and Presbyters have in some sort, but with this difference, that meer Presbyters are *Episcopi gregis*, onely they have the oversight of the flock in the Duties of preaching, administration of Sacraments, publick prayer, Exhorting, Rebuking, &c. but Bishops are *Episcopi gregis & pastorum* within their severall precincts; in the acts of external government; so that the common work of both Functions is the Ministry of the Gospel, but that which is peculiar to the Function of Bishops as distinguished from Presbyters, is Church-government. It is not therefore to be wondred if it should happen in the New Testament, the word *Episcopus* to be usually applyed unto Presbyters who were indeed overseers of the flock; rather then unto Church-governours, who had then a title of greater Eminency whereby to distinguish them from ordinary Presbyters, to wit, that of Apostles. But when the government of Churches came into the hands of their Successours

Successours ; the names were by common usage (which is the best master of words) very soon appropriated, that of *Episcopus* to the Ecclesiastical Governour or Bishop of a Diocese, and that of Presbyter to the ordinary Minister or Priest.

His Majesty hath rather cause to wonder, That upon such premises you should conclude with so much confidence, as if the point were rendred most clear to the judgement of most men both ancient and of latter times, That there is no such Officer to be found in the Scriptures of the New Testament as a Bishop distinct from a Presbyter, when as his Majesty remembreth to have seen cited, by such Authors as he hath no reason to suspect, both out of the ancient Fathers and Councils, and out of sundry modern Writers, even of these reformed Churches, that want Bishops, great variety of Testimonies to the contrary.

His Majesty is not satisfied with your Answer, concerning the Apostles exercise of Episcopal government, which you would put off, by referring it to their extraordinary calling ; our Saviour himself was the first and chief Apostle, and Bishop of our Souls, sent by the Father and anointed by the holy Ghost, to be both the Teacher and the Governour of his Church. By that Mission he received authority, and by Unction abilities for these works which he performed in his own person, whilest he lived upon the earth : Before he left the World, that the Church might not want Teaching and Governing to the Worlds end, he chose certain persons upon whom he conferrd both these powers, whereby they became also Apostles and Bishops, by making them partakers both of his Mission before his Assention (*As my Father sent me so I send you*) and of his Unction shortly after his Assention, when he poured upon them the Holy Ghost at Pentecost. The Mission both for teaching and governing (at least for the substance of it)

it) was ordinary and to continue to the end of the World (*Matth. 28. 18. 20.* And therefore necessarily to descend, and be by them transmitted to others, as their Substitutes or Successours. But the unction whereby they were enabled to both Offices or Functions, by the effusion of the Holy Ghost, in such a plenteous measure of Knowledge, Tongues, Miracles, Propheysings, Healing, Infalibility of Doctrine, discerning of spirits, and such like, was indeed extraordinary in them, and in some few others though in an inferiour measure, as God saw it needful for the planting of the Churches, and propogation of the Gospel in those Primitive times; and in this which was indeed extraordinary in them) they were not necessarily to have Successours. But it seems very unreasonable to attribute the exercise of that power, whether of Teaching or Governing to an extraordinary calling, which being of necessary and continual use in the Church, must therefore of necessity be the work of a Function of ordinary and perpetual use; therefore the acts of governing of the Church, were no more nor otherwise in the Apostles, then the acts of Teaching the Church were; that is to say, both extraordinary for the manner of performance, in respect of their more then ordinary abilities for the same, and yet both ordinary for the substance of the offices themselves, and the works to be performed therein; and in these two ordinary Offices, their ordinary Successors are Presbyters and Bishops; Presbyters *qua* Presbyters immediately succeeding them in the office of teaching: and Bishops *qua* Bishops immediately in the office of Governing.

The instances of *Timothy* and *Titus*, you likewise endeavoured to avoid by the pretention of an extraordinary calling. But in this answer the insufficiency thereof is such (if all that is said therein could be proved), that his Majesty findeth very little satisfaction.

I, First

1. First you say that *Timothy* and *Titus* were (by Office) Evangelists, whereas of *Titus*, the Scripture no where implies any such thing at all, and by your own Rule, Authority without Scripture will beget (if that) but a Humane Faith, neither doth the Text clearly prove that *Timothy* was so.

2. Setting aside mens conjectures (which can breed but an humane faith neither) you cannot make it appear by any Text of Scripture, that the Office of an Evangelist, is such as you have described it; The work of an Evangelist which Saint *Paul* exhorteth *Timothy* to do seems by the context (2 *Tim.* 2. 4. 5.) to be nothing but diligence in preaching the Word, notwithstanding all impediments and opposition.

3. That which you so confidently affirm, That *Timothy* and *Titus* acted as Evangelists, is not onely denied, but clearly refuted by *Sculletus*, *Gerrard*, and others; yea even with scorn rejected of late, (as his Majesty is informed) by some rigid Presbyterians, as *Gillespie*, *Rutherford*, &c. And that which you so confidently deny, that *Timothy* and *Titus* were Bishops, is not onely confirmed by the consentient testimony of all Antiquity (even *Jerome* himself having recorded it, that they were Bishops, and that of *S. Pauls* Ordination) and acknowledged by very many late Divines: but a Catalogue also of 27 Bishops of *Ephesus* lineally succeeding from *Timothy*, out of good Records, is vouched by *Reynolds* against *Hart*, and by other Writers.

4. You affirme, but upon very weak proofes; That they were from *Ephesus* and *Creet* removed to other places. Some that have exactly out of Scripture compared the times and orders of the several journeys and stations of Saint *Paul* and *Timothy*, have demonstrated the contrary concerning that particular.

5 Where

5. Whereas you say it is manifest from the 2 *Tim.* 4. 9. and *Tit.* 3. 12. That they were called away from these places; it doth no more conclude, that they were not Bishops there, or that they might as well be called Bishops of other Churches, then it may be concluded from the attendance of the Divines of the Assembly at *Westminster*, that they are not Parsons or Vicars of their several parishes.

Lastly, for the postscripts of these Epistles, though his Majesty lay no great weight upon them, yet he holdeth them to be of great antiquity, and therefore such as in question of fact, where there appears no strong evidence to weaken their belief, ought not to be lightly rejected.

Neither doth this lay any weight at all upon the Allegory or mystery of the denomination in the next point concerning the Angels of the Church, as you mistake in your answer thereunto; wherein his Majesty findes as little satisfaction as in the last point before. The strength of his Majesties instance lay in this, that by the judgement of all the ancient and the best modern Writers, and by many probabilities in the Text it self, the Angels of the Seven Churches were *personæ singulares*, and such as had a Prelacy as well over Pastors as people within their Churches, and that is in a word Bishops. And you bring nothing of moment in your answer to infirm this: you say truly indeed, That those Epistles were written in Epistolary stile, and so (as Letters to collective or representative bodies use to be) directed to one, but intended to the body. Which when you have proved, you are so far from weakning, that you rather strengthen the argument to prove the Angels to have been single persons: As when his Majesty sendeth a Message to His two Houses, and directs it to the Speaker of the House of Peers, his intending it to the whole House, doth not hinder, but that the Speaker to whom it is directed is one single person still. Yet his

his Majesty cannot but observe in this (as in some parts of your answer) how willing you are *versari in generalibus*, and how unwilling to speak out, and to declare plainly & directly what your opinion is concerning those Angels, who they were, whether they were the great Antichrist of Episcopacy; *Salmarins* very peremptorily (*sit ergo hoc fixum, &c.*) affirmeth, the whole Churches; or so many individual Pastors of the greater Church in these Cities, or the whole Colledge of Presbyters in the respective Churches, or the singular and individual Presidents of these Colledges. For into so many several opinions are these few divided among themselves, who have divided themselves from the common and received judgement of the Christian Church.

In the following Discourse you deny that the Apostles were to have any successors in their Office, and affirm that they were to be onely two Orders of ordinary and standing Officers in the Church, *viz. Presbyters and Deacons.*

What his Majesty conceiveth concerning the Successors of the Apostles is in part already declared, *viz.* That they have no Successors *in eundem gradum*, in respect of these things that were extraordinary in them, as namely the measure of their gifts, the extent of their charge, the infallibility of their doctrine, and (which is sundry times mentioned as a special character of an Apostle properly so called) they having seen Christ in the flesh. But in these things that were not extraordinary (and such those things are to be judged which are necessary for the service of the Church in all times, as the Office of Teaching, and the power of Governing are) they were to have and hold Successors; and therefore the learned and godly Fathers and Councils of old times, did usually stile Bishops the Successors of the Apostles, without any scrupling thereat.

And as to the standing Officers of the Church, although

although in the place by you cited, *Phil. 1. 1. 1 Tim. 3. 8.* there be no mention of Bishops as distinct from Presbyters, but of the two Orders onely of Bishops or Presbyters and Deacons; yet it is not thereby proved that there is no other standing Office in the Church besides, for there appears two other manifest Reasons, why that of Bishops might not be so proper to be mentioned in those places; the one, because in the Churches which the Apostles themselves planted, they placed Presbyters under them for the Office of teaching, and took upon themselves the care, and reserved in their own hands, the power of governing of these Churches, for a longer or shorter time, as they saw it expedient for the propagating of the Gospel, before they set Bishops over them; and so it may be probable that there was as yet no Bishop set over the Church of *Philippi*, when Saint *Paul* writ his Epistle to them. The other, because in the Epistles to *Timothy* and *Titus*, the persons to whom he wrote being themselves Bishops, there was no need to write any thing concerning the choice or qualification of any other sort of Officers, then such as belonged to their ordination or inspection which were Presbyters and Deacons onely, and no Bishops.

Concerning the Ages succeeding the Apostles.

First, his Majesty beleeveth, that although Faith as it is an assent unto truth supernatural, or of Divine Revelation, reacheth no further then the Scriptures, yet in matters of fact, humane testimonies may beget a faith, though humane, yet certain and infallible, as by credit of Histories we have an infallible faith that *Aristotle* was a Greek Philosopher, and *Cicero* a Roman Orator.

2. The darknesse of these times in respect of the History of the Church, is a very strong Argument for Episcopacy;

Episcopacy; for that notwithstanding the darknesse of the times there is found so full and clear a proof, by the unquestioned Catalogues extant in ancient Writers of the Bishops of sundry famous Cities, as *Jerusalem, Antioch, Alexandria, Rome, Ephesus, &c.* in a continued succession from the Apostles, as scarce any other matter of fact hath found the like.

3. In *Clements* testimony cited by you, his Majesty conceiveth you make use of your old fallacy, from the promiscuous use of the words to infer the indistinction of the things; for who can doubt of *Clements* opinion concerning the distinct Offices of Bishops and Presbyters, who either readeth his whole Epistle, or considereth that he himself was a Bishop in that sence, even by the confession of *Videlius* himself, a man never yet suspected to favour Bishops, who saith, after the death of *Linus* and *Cletus*, *Clemens solus Episcopi nomen retinuit, quia jam invaluerat distinctio Episcopi & Presbyteri*; and for *Ignatius* his Epistles, though some of late out of their partial dis-affection to Bishops, have endeavoured to discredit the whole Volume of them by all possible means, without any regard either of ingenuity or truth, yet sundry of them are such, as being attested by the suffrages of Antiquity, cannot with any fore-head be denied to be his; and there is scarce any of them which dorch not give testimony to the Prelacy of a Bishop above a Presbyter: *Ignatius* himself was a Bishop of *Antioch*, and a holy Martyr for the faith of CHRIST.

4. You grant, that not long after the Apostles times Bishops are found in the Writers of those times, reported as in some superiority to Presbyters; but you might have added farther out of these Writers (if you had pleased) that they were some of them, as *James* at *Jerusalem*, *Timothy* at *Ephesus*, *Titus* in *Greet*, *Mark* at *Alexandria*, *Linus* and *Clement* at *Rome*, *Polycarpus* at *Smyrna*, constituted and ordained Bishops

Bishops, of these places by the Apostles themselves, and all of them reputed Successors to the Apostles in their Episcopal Office: And his Majesty presumeth you could not be ignorant, that all, or most of the testimonies you recite of the ancient Fathers, Writers of middle ages, Schoolmen, and Canonists, and the Book published under King *Henry the 8.* do but either import the promiscuous and indifferent use of the names of Bishops and Presbyters, whereof advantage ought not to be made to take away the difference of the things, or else they relate to a Schoole point (which in respect of the thing it self is but a very nicety) disputed *pro* and *con* by curious questionists, *Utrum Episcopatus sit ordo vel gradus*, both sides in the mean time acknowledging the right of Church-Government to be in the Bishops alone, and not in the Presbyters; as also that there may be produced either from the very same Writers, or from others of as good authority or credit, testimonies both for number and cleareness far beyond those by you mentioned to assert the three different degrees or orders (call them whether you will) of Ecclesiastical Functions, (*viz.*) the Bishop, the Presbyter, and the Deacon.

As to that which you adde lastly, concerning the difference between primitive Episcopacy, and the present Hierarchy, albeit his Majesty doth conceive, that the accessions, or additions granted by the favour of his Royal progenitors, for the enlarging of the power or priviledges of Bishops, have not made, or indeed can make the Government really and substantially to differ from what formerly it was, no more then the Addition of Armes or Ornaments can make a body really and substantially to differ from it self naked, or devided of the same; nor can think it either necessary or yet expedient, that the elections of the Bishops, and some other circumstantial touching their persons or
Office

Office should be in all respects the same under Christian Princes, as it was when Christians lived among Pagans, and under persecution; yet his Majesty so far approveth of your Answer in that behalf, that he thinketh it well worthy the studies and endeavours of Divines of both opinions, laying aside emulation and private interests, to reduce Episcopacy and Presbytery into such a well proportioned form of superiority and subordination, as may best resemble the Apostolical and primitive times, so far forth as the different condition of the times, and the exigents of all considerable circumstances will admit, so as the power of Church Government in the particular Ordination which is meerly spiritual, may remain authoritative in the Bishop, but that power not to be exercised without the concurrence or assistance of his Presbytery, as *Timothy* was ordained by the authority of *S. Paul*, 2 *Tim.* 1. 6. but with the concurrence or assistance of the Presbytery, 1 *Tim.* 4. 14. Other powers of Government which belong to jurisdiction (though they are in the Bishops, as before is exprest) yet the outward exercise of them may be ordered and disposed, or limited by the Sovereign power to which by the Laws of the place, and the acknowledgement of the Clergy they are subordinate; but his Majesty doubteth whether it be in your power to give him any perfect assurance, that in the desired abolition of the present Hierarchy, the utter abolishing of Episcopacy, and consequently of Presbytery is neither included nor intended.

As to the last part of his Majesties paper, his Majesty would have been better satisfied if you had been more particular in your Answer thereunto; you tell him in general, that there are substantials in Church Government appointed by Christ, &c. but you neither say what these substantials are, nor in whose hands they are left; whereas his Majesty expected that you would have declared your opinions clearly, whether

whether Christ or his Apostles left any certain form of Government to be observed in all Christian Churches; then whether the same binds all Churches to the particular observation thereof; or whether they may upon occasion alter the same, either in whole or in part. Likewise whether that certain form of Government which Christ and his Apostles have appointed as perpetual and unalterable (if they have appointed any such at all) be the Episcopal, or the Presbyterian Government or some other differing from them both

And whereas in the conclusion you beseech his Majesty, to look rather to the Original of Bishops, then to their Succession, his Majesty thinks it needful to look at both, especially since their Succession is the best clue, the most certain and ready way to finde out their original.

His Majesty having returned you this answer, doth professe, that whatever is of weight in yours, shall have influence in him; so he doubts not but somewhat may appear to you in His which was not so clear to you before; and if this debate may have this end, that it dispose others to the temper of accepting reason, as it shall him of endeavouring to give satisfaction in all He can to the two Houses, his Majesty believes though it hath taken up, it hath not mis-spent His time.

Newport, Octob. 6.

The



The Answer of the Ministers
attending the *Commissioners of Parli-*
ament, to the second Paper deli-
vered to them by His *Majesty*,
October 6. 1648:

Delivered to his *Majesty*, Octob. 17.

May it please your Majesty,

AS in our paper of *October* the third, in answer to
your Majesties of *October* the second, we did,
so now again we do acknowledge, that the Scriptures
cited in the Margin of your Majesties paper do prove,
that the Apostles in their own persons, That *Timothy*
and *Titus*, and the Angels of the Churches, had pow-
er respectively, to do those things, which are in those
places of Scripture specified: But as then, so now al-
so, we humbly do deny, that any of the persons or
Officers fore-mentioned were Bishops, as distinct
from Presbyters, or did exercise Episcopal Govern-
ment in that sence: Or that this was in the least mea-
sure proved by the alleadged Scriptures, and there-
fore our *Negative* not being to the same point, or
state of the Question which was *affirmed*; We hum-
bly conceive that we should not be interpreted, to
have in effect, denied the very same thing, which we
had before granted; or to have acknowledged that
the several Scriptures do prove the thing, for which
they are cited by your Majesty: And, if that, which
we granted were all, that, by the Scriptures cited in
your Margin, your Majesty intended to prove; It
will follow, That nothing hath yet been proved on
your Majesties part, to make up that conclusion
which is pretended.

As

As then we stood upon the Negative to that assertion, so we now crave leave to represent to your Majesty, that your reply doth not infirm the evidence given in maintenance thereof. The Reason given by your Majesty in this paper, to support your assertion: That the persons that exercised the power aforesaid were Bishops in distinct sense, is taken from a description of Episcopal Government; 'Which is (as your Majesty saith) nothing else, but the Government of the Churches within a certain precinct, commonly called a Diocese) committed to one single person, with sufficient authority over the Presbyters, and people of those Churches for that end; which Government so prescribed, being for substance of the thing it self in all the three forementioned particulars, (Ordaining, giving rules of Discipline, and Censures) found in Scriptures, except we will contend about names and words, must be acknowledged in the sense aforesaid to be sufficiently proved from Scriptures: and your Majesty saith further, that the Bishops doth challenge more, or other power to belong to them, in respect of their Episcopal Office, as it is distinct from that of Presbyters, then what properly falls under one of those three.

We desire to speak both to the Bishops of *challenge*, and to your Majesties Description of *Episcopal Government*. And first to their Challenge; because it is first exprest in your **MAJESTIES** Réply.

The Challenge we undertake in two Respects: 1. In respect of the power, challenged: 2. In respect of that ground, or *Tenure* upon which the claim is laid. The power challenged consists of three particulars; *Ordaining, giving Rules of Discipline and Censures*. No more, no other, in respect of their Episcopal office. We see not, by what warrant this writ of partition is taken forth, by which the Apostolical office is thus shared or divided; the
Governing

Governing part into the Bishops hands; the teaching, and administering Sacraments, into the Presbyters. For besides that the Scripture makes no such inclosure, or partition wall; it appears the challenge is grown to more then was pretended unto in the times of grown Episcopacy. *Jerome*, and *Chrysostome* do both acknowledge for their time, that the Bishop and Presbyter differed onely in the matter of Ordination: and learned Doctor *Bilson* makes some abatement in the claim of *three*, saying, the things proper to Bishops, which might not be common to Presbyters, are singularly of Succeeding, and Superiority in ordaining.

The tenure or ground upon which the claim is made is Apostolical, which with us is all one with Divine Institution. And this, as far as we have learned, hath not been anciently, openly, or generally avowed in this Church of England, either in time of Popery, or of the first Reformation; and whensoever the pretension hath been made, it was not without the contradiction of learned, and godly men. The abettors of the challenge, that they might resolve it at last into the Scripture, did chuse the most plausible way of ascending by the way of Succession; going up the River to finde the Head: but when they came to Scriptures, and found it like the head of *Nile* (which cannot be found) they shrowded it under the name and countenance of the *Angels of the Churches*, and of *Timothy* and *Titus*. Those that would carry it higher, endeavoured to imp it into the Apostolical office, and so at last called it a Divine institution, not in force of any expresse precept, but *implicite* practise of the Apostles: and so the Apostolical office (excepting the gifts, or enablements consist only extraordinary) is brought down to be Episcopal, and the Episcopal raised up to be Apostolical. Whereupon it follows, that the highest Officers in the Church are put into a lower orb; an extraordinary office turned into an ordinary distinct office,

fice, confounded with that which in the Scripture is not found; a temporary, and an extinct office revived. And indeed, if the definitions of both be rightly made, they are so incompatible to the same subject, that he that will take both must lose the one: *aut Apostolus Episcopatum, aut Apostolatum Episcopus*. For the Apostles, though they did not in many things *ut aliud*, yet they acted *alio nomine & alio munere*, then Presbyters, or Bishops can do; and if they were indeed Bishops, and their government properly Episcopal in distinct sense, then it is not needful to go so far about to prove Episcopal government of Divine institution, because they practised it: but to assert expressly that Christ instituted it immediately in them.

For your Majesties definition of Episcopal government, it is extracted out of the Bishops of later date, then Scripture times, and doth not suite with that Meridian, under which there were more Bishops then one in a Precinct, or Church; and it is as fully competent to Archiepiscopal, and Patriarchal government, as Episcopal. The parts of this definition, *materially* and *abstractly* considered, may be found in Scripture. The Apostles *Timothie* and *Titus*, were single persons, but not limited to a Precinct: the government of the *Angels* was limited to a Precinct, but not in single persons. In several offices not to be confounded, the parts of this definition may be found; but the aggregation of them altogether into one ordinary Officer cannot be found. And if that word, *ordinary*, and *standing Government*, had been made the *genus* in your Majesties definition (as it ought to be) we should crave leave to say it would be *gratis dictum*, if not *petitio principii*: for the Scripture doth not put all these parts together in a Bishop, who never borrowed of *Apostles*, *Evangelists* and *Angels* the matter of governing and ordaining, and left the other of teaching, dispensing Sacraments and dealing onely *in foro interno*, to Presbyters, until after times. By this
that

that hath been said, it is manifest enough, that we contend not first *de nomine*; about the name of Episcopal Government: which yet (though names serve for distinction) is not called or distinguished by that name in Scripture. Nor secondly, *de opere*, about the work, whether the work of Governing, Ordering, preaching, &c. be of continuance in the Church, which we clearly acknowledge: But thirdly, *de munere*, about the office, it being a great fallacy to argue, That the Apostles did the same work which Bishops or Presbyters are to do in ordinary. Therefore they were of the same Office: for as it is said of the liberal and learned Arts, one and the same thing may be handled in divers of them, and yet these Arts are distinguished by the *formalis ratio* of handling of them, so we say of Offices, they are distinguished by their Callings and Commissions, though not by the work, as all those that are named, (*Ephes 4.11.*) Apostles, Prophets, Evangelists, Pastors, and Teachers, are designed to one and the same general and common work: *The work of the Ministry*, vers. 12. And yet they are not therefore all one, for its said, *some* Apostles, *some* Prophets, *some* Evangelists, and *some* Pastors and Teachers; a Dictator in Rome and an ordinary Tribune. Moses and the subordinate Governours of Israel. The Court of Parliament and of the Kings Bench, an Apostle and a Presbyter or Deacon may agree in some common work, and yet no confusion of Offices follows thereupon.

To that which your Majesty conceives, that the most that can be proved from all, or any of those places, by us alleadged (to prove that the Name, Office, and Work of Bishops and Presbyters is one and the same in all things, and not in the least distinguished) is, that the word Bishop is used in them to signify a Presbyter, and that consequently the Office, and Work, mentioned in these places as the Office and Work of a Bishop, are the Office

‘ of a Presbyter, which is confessed on all sides. We make this humble return, That though there be no supposition so much as implied, that the Office of a Bishop and a Presbyter, are distinct in any thing (for the names are mutually reciprocal,) yet we take your Majesties concession, that in these times of the Church, and places of Scripture, there was no distinct Office of Bishops and Presbyters; and consequently that the identity of the Office must stand, until there can be found a clear distinction or division in the Scriptures, and if we had argued the identity of Functions from the community of names, and some part of the work, the Argument might have been justly termed a fallacy, but we proved them the same Office from the same work, *per omnia*, being allowed so to do by the fulnesse of those two words used in the *Acts* and *S. Peter* his Epistle *πρεσβυτεριον* and *ἐπισκοπειν* under the force of which words the Bishops claim their whole power of Government and Jurisdiction, and we found no little weight added to our Argument from that in the *Acts*, where the Apostle departing from the *Ephesian Presbyters* or *Bishops*, as never to see their faces more, commits (as by a final charge) the Government of that Church, both over particular Presbyters and people; not to *Timothy* who then stood at his elbow, but to the Presbyters under the name of Bishops, made by the holy Ghost, whom we read to have set many Bishops over our Church, not one over either one or many, and the Apostles arguing from the same qualification of a Presbyter and of a Bishop in order to Ordination or putting him into Office, fully proves them to be two names of the same Order or Function: the diverse Orders of Presbyter and Deacon, being diversly characterised, upon these grounds (we hope without fallacy) we conceive it justly proved, that a Bishop and a Presbyter are wholly the same. That *Timothy* and *Titus* were single persons, having authority of Government, we acknowledge; but deny,

ny, that from thence any argument can be made unto either single Bishop or Presbyter: for though a single Presbyter by the power of his Order (as they call it) may preach the Word and dispense the Sacraments; yet by that example of the Presbytery, their *Laying on of hands*, and that Rule of *Telling the Church* in matter of scandal, it seems manifest, that Ordination and Censures are not to be exercised by a single Presbyter; neither hath your Majesty hitherto proved either the names of Bishops and Presbyters, or the Function, to be in other places of Scripture at all distinguished; You having wholly waved the notice or answer of that we did insert (and do yet desire some demonstration of the contrary) viz. That the Scripture doth not afford us the least notice of any qualification, any ordination, any work or duty, any honour peculiarly belonging to a Bishop distinct from a Presbyter; the assignment of which, or any of them unto a Bishop, by the Scripture, would put this Question near to an issue. That GOD should intend a distinct and highest kinde of Officer for government in the Church, and yet not expresse any qualification, work, or way of constituting and ordaining of him, seems unto us improbable. Concerning the signification of the word *Episcopus*, importing an Overseer, or one that hath a charge committed to him: For instance, of watching a Beacon, or keeping *Sheep*; and the application of the name to such persons as have inspection of the Churches of Christ committed to them in *spiritualibus*: We also give our suffrage, but not to that distinction of *Episcopus gregis*, and *Episcopus pastorum* & *gregis*; both because it is the *in negotiorum* or point in question; and also because your Majesty having signified that *Episcopus* imports a keeper of sheep, yet you have not said that it signifies also a keeper of shepherds. As to that which is affirmed by your Majesty, that the peculiar of the function of Bishops is Church government; and that the rea-

'son why the word *Episcopus* is so usually applyed to
 'Presbytery; was, because Church Governours had
 'then another title of greater eminency, to wit, that
 'of *Apostles*; until the Government of the Churches
 'came into the hands of their Successours; and then
 'the names were by common usage very soon ap-
 'propriated; That of *Episcopus* to Ecclesiastical
 'Governours; That of *Presbyters* to the ordinary
 'Ministers. This assertion your Majesty is pleased
 'to make without any demonstration; for the Scrip-
 'ture calls Presbyters, Rulers, and Pastors and
 'Teachers, it calls Governours; and commits to
 'them the charge of feeding and inspection as we
 'have proved, and that without any mention of
 'Church Government peculiar to Bishops; we deny
 'not, but some of the Fathers have conceived the
 'notion that Bishops were called Apostles, till the
 'names of *Presbyter* and *Episcopus* became appropri-
 'ate, which is either an allusion or conceit, with-
 'out evidence of Scripture; For, while the Functi-
 'on was one, the names were not divided; When
 'the Function was divided, the name was divided
 'also, and indeed impropriate; but we that look for
 'the same warrant, for the division of an Office, as
 'for the Constitution, cannot finde that this appro-
 'priation of names, was made till afterwards, or in
 'proceſſe of time, as *Theodore* (one of the Fathers
 'of this conceit) affirms; whose saying, when it is run
 'out of the pale of Scripture time, we can no fur-
 'ther follow; from which premises laid altogether,
 'wee did conclude the cleernesse of our assertion,
 'That in the *Scriptures of the New Testament*, a Bishop
 'distinct from a Presbyter in *Qualification, Ordination,*
 '*Office or Dignity* is not found, the contrary whereof,
 'though your Majesty saith, that you have seen confir-
 'med by great variety of credible Testimony, yet we
 'believe those testimonies are rather strong in assert-
 'ing, then in demonstrating the Scriptures Original of

a Bishop, which is declared against by a cloud of witnesses, named in the later end of our former Answer, unto which we should refer if matter of right were not proper-tryable by Scripture, as matter of fact is by Testimony.

We said that the Apostles were the highest Order of Officers of the Church, that they were extraordinary, that they were distinguished from all other Officers, and that their Government was not *Episcopal*, but *Apostolical*; to which Answer, your Majesty being not satisfied, doth oppose certain assertions, 'That Christ himself and the Apostles received their authority by Mission, their ability by Unction; That the Mission of the Apostles was ordinary, and to continue to the end of the World; but the Unction, whereby they were enabled to both Offices and Functions, Teaching and Governing was indeed extraordinary; That in their Unction they were not necessarily to have Successors, but necessarily in their Mission or Office of Teaching and Governing; That in these two ordinary Offices, their ordinary successors are Presbyters and Bishops; That Presbyter *qua* Presbyters do immediately succeed them in the Office of Teaching, and Bishops *qua* Bishops, immediately in the Office of Governing: The demonstration of which last alone, would have carried in it more conviction than all these assertions put together; Officers are distinguished by that whereby they are constituted, their Commission, which being produced, signed by one place of Scripture, gives surer evidence, than a Pedigree drawn forth by such a series of distinctions as do not distinguish him into another Office from a Presbyter; whether this chain of distinction be strong, and the links of it sufficiently tackt together, we crave leave to examine, Christ saith, your Majesty was the Apostle and Bishop of our souls, and he made the Apostles both Apostles and Bishops; we do not

conceive that your Majesty means that the Apostles succeeded Christ as the chief Apostle, and that as Bishops they succeeded Christ as a Bishop, lest thereby Christ his *Mission* as an *Apostle and Bishop* might be conceived as ordinary as their *Mission* is said to be: But we apprehend your Majesty to mean, that the Office of Apostle and Bishop, was eminently contained in Christs office, as the office of a Bishop was eminently contained in that of Apostleship; but thence it will not follow that *inferiour* offices being contained in the *superiour* eminently, are therefore existent in it *formally*; For because all *honours and dignities* are eminently contained in your Majesty, would it therefore follow that your Majesty is formally and distinctly a Baron of the Realm, as it is asserted, the Apostles to have been Bishops in distinct sense; That *Mission* refers to Office and authority, and *Unction* onely to Ability, we cannot consent: for besides that the breathing of Christ upon his Disciples, saying, *Receive ye the holy Ghost*, doth refer to *mission* as well as *unction*; we conceive that in the proper *anointing of Kings*, or other Officers, the natural use and effect of the oyl upon the body, was not so much intended, as the solemn and ceremonious use of it in the inauguration of them; so there is relation to Office in unction, as well as to conferring of abilities; else how are Kings, or Priests, or Prophets, said to be anointed? And what good sense could be made of that expression in Scripture, of anointing one in anothers room: to omit, that Christ by this construction should be called the *Messias* in respect of abilities onely. And although we should grant your Majesties explication of *Mission* and *Unction*, yet it will not follow that the *Mission* of the Apostles was ordinary, and their *unction* onely extraordinary: That into which there is succession, was ordinary; That into which there is no succession, (for succession is not unto abilities or gifts) extraordinary; and so the Apostles were

were ordinary Officers in all whereunto there is properly any succession, and that is *office*. They differed from Bishops in that wherein one Apostle or Officer of the same order might differ from another, to wit, in abilities and measure of Spirit, but not in that wherein one order of Officers is above another by their office; to which we cannot give consent; for since no man is denominated an Officer from his meer abilities or gifts, so neither can the Apostles be called extraordinary Officers, because of extraordinary gifts, but that the Apostles mission and office (as well as their abilities) was extraordinary and temporary, doth appear in that it was by immediate Commission from Christ without any intervention, of men, either in Election or Ordination for planting an authoritative governing of all Churches through the World, comprehending in it all other Officers of the Church whatsoever; and therefore it seems to us very unreasonable, that the office and authority of the Apostles should be drawn down to an ordinary, thereby to make, as it were, a fit *stock*, into which the ordinary office of a Bishop may be *ingrafted*, nor doth the continuance of Teaching and Governing in Christ himself, render his office therefore Ordinary. The reason given, That the Office of Teaching and Governing, was ordinary in the Apostles, because of the continuance of them in the Church (we crave leave to say) is that great mistake which runs through the whole file of your Majesties discourse, for though there be a succession in the *work* of Teaching and Governing, yet there is no Succession in the *Commission or Office* by which the Apostles performed them for the office of Christ, of Apostles, of Evangelists, of Prophets, is thence also concluded Ordinary, as to *Teaching and Governing*, and the distinction of Offices Extraordinary and Ordinary *eatenus* destroyed; the Succession may be into the same *work*, not into the same *Commission and Office*, the ordinary Officers, which are to

manage the work of Teaching and governing, are constituted, settled and limited by warrant of Scripture, as by another Commission then that which the Apostles had. And if your Majesty had shewn us some Record out of Scripture, warranting the division of the Office of teaching and governing into two hands, and the appropriation of teaching to Presbyters, of governing to Bishops, the question had been determined, otherwise wee must look upon the dissolving of the Apostolical Office, and distribution of it into these two hands, as the dictate of men who have a minde, by such a precarious Argument, to challenge to themselves the *Keyes of Authority*, and leave the *Word* to the Presbyters.

In our answer to the instances of *Timothy* and *Titus* (which Doctor *Bisson* acknowledgeth to bee the main erection of Episcopall power, if the proofs of their being Bishops, do stand, or subversion, if the answer that they were Evangelists be good) your Majesty findes very little satisfaction though all that is said therein could bee proved.

First, because the Scriptures no where implyeth any such things at all, that *Titus* was an Evangelist, neither doth the Text cleerly prove, that *Timothy* was so.

1. The name of Bishop, the Scripture neither expressly nor by implication gives to either, the work which they are enjoyned to do is common to Apostles, Evangelists, Pastors, and Teachers, and cannot of it self make a character of one distinct and proper office: But that there was such an order of Officers in the Church as Evangelists reckoned amongst the extraordinary and temporary Offices, and that *Timothy* was one of that Order, and that both *Timothy* and *Titus* were not ordained to one particular Church, but were companions and fellow Labourers with

with the Apostles, sent abroad to several Churches as occasion did require; it is as we (humbly conceive) clear enough in Scripture, and not denied by the learned defenders of Episcopal Government, nor (as we remember) by *Scultetus* himself during the time of their travailes.

‘ 2. To that which Your Majesty secondly saith, ‘ That we cannot make it appear by any Text of ‘ Scripture that the Office of Evangelists is such as we ‘ have described, his work seeming, 2 *Timothy* 2. ‘ 4. 5. to be nothing else but diligence in preaching ‘ the Word, notwithstanding all impediments and ‘ oppositions, We humbly answer, That *exact definitions* of these or other Church Officers are hard to bee found in any Text of Scripture, but by comparing one place of Scripture with another, it may be proved as well what they were, as what the Apostles and Presbyters were, the description by us given being a Character made up by collation of Scriptures, from which Master *Hooker*, *Eccles. Polit. lib. 5.* doth not much vary, saying, that *Evangelists were Presbyters of principal sufficiency whom the Apostles sent abroad and used as Agents in Ecclesiastical Affaires, wheresoever they saw need.* And that *Pastors and Teachers* were settled in some certain charge, and thereby differed from *Evangelists*, whose work that it should be nothing but diligence in preaching, &c. which is common to Apostles, Evangelists, Pastors, and Teachers, and so not distinctive of this particular Office, argueth to us, that as the Apostles Office was divided into Episcopal and Apostolical, so this also is to be divided in Episcopal and Evangelistical, Ordination and Censures belonging to *Timothy* as a Bishop, and diligence in preaching onely being left to the *Evangelists*, which division (as we humbly conceive) is not warranted by the Scripture.

Methodical way

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‘ Thirdly

‘Thirdly, Your Majesty saith, that that which we so confidently affirm of *Timothy* and *Titus*, their acting as Evangelists, is by some denied and refuted, yea even with scorn rejected by some rigid Presbyterians, and that which we so confidently deny, that they were Bishops, is confirmed by the consentient testimony of all Antiquity, recorded by *Jerome* himself, that they were Bishops of Saint Pauls ordination, acknowledged by very many late Divines, and that a Catalogue of 27 Bishops of *Ephesus* lineally succeeding from *Timothy*, out of good Record, is vouched by Doctor *Reynolds*, and other Writers.

Our confidence (as your Majesty is pleased to call it) was in our Answer exprest in these words, *We cannot say that Timothy and Titus were Bishops in the sense of your Majesty, but extraordinary Officers or Evangelists*, in which opinion we were then clear, not out of a total ignorance of those Testimonies which might be alledged against it, but from intrinsick arguments out of Scripture, from which your Majesty hath not produced any one to the contrary, nor is our confidence weakned by such replies as these, the Scripture never calls them Bishops, but the Fathers do, the Scripture calls *Timothy* an Evangelist, some of late have refuted it, and rejected it with scorn; the Scripture relates their motions from Church to Church, but some affirm them to be fixed at *Ephesus* & in *Crete*, the Scripture makes distinction of Evangelists and Pastors, but some say that *Timothy* and *Titus* were both; we cannot give your Majesty a present account of *Scultetus* and *Gerhards* Arguments, but do believe that Mr. *Gillespi* and *Rutherford* are able with greater strength to refute that opinion of *Timothy* and *Titus* their being Bishops, then they do (if they do) with scorn reject this of their being Evangelists: As for testimonies and catalogues though we undervalue them not, yet your Majesty will be pleased to allow

us the use of our Reason, so far as not to erect an Office in the Church, which is not found in Scripture, upon general appellations or titles and allusions frequently found in the Fathers, especially when they speak vulgarly, and not as to a point in debate, for even Jerome, who as your Majesty saith doth Record, that Timothy & Titus were made Bishops, and that of S. Pauls Ordination, doth when he speaks to the point between your Majesty and us, give the Bishops to understand that they are superiour to Presbyters *consuetudine magis quam Dominicae veritatis dispositione*; for catalogues their credit rests upon the first witnesses from whom they are reported by tradition from hand to hand, whose writings are many times suppositions, dubious, or not extant; besides that these catalogues do resolve themselves into some Apostle or Evangelist as the first Bishop, as the catalogue of Jerusalem into the Apostle James, that of Antioch into Peter, that of Rome into Peter and Paul, that of Alexandria into Mark, that of Ephesus into Timothy, which Apostles and Evangelists can neither themselves be degraded by being made Bishops, nor be succeeded in their proper calling or office; and it is easie for us to proceed the same way, and to finde many ancient rites and customs generally received in the Church (counted by the antients Apostolical traditions) as neer the Apostles times as Bishops, which yet, are confessedly, not of Divine institution: and further, if Timothy and the rest that are first in the catalogue were Bishops with such sole power of Ordination and Censures, as is asserted; how came their pretended Successours, who were but *primi Presbyterorum* (as the Fathers themselves call them) to lose so much Episcopal power as was in their predecessors, and as was not recovered in 300 hundred years? and therefore we cannot upon any thing yet said, recede from that of our Saviour, *ab initio non fuit sic*, from the beginning it was not so.

‘ Your

‘Your Majesty saith, that we affirm but upon very weak proofs, that they were from *Ephesus* and *Crete* removed to other places, the contrary whereunto hath been demonstrated by some, who have exactly out of Scripture, compared the times, and order of the several journeyes, and stations of *Paul* and *Timothy*.

It is confessed that our assertion, that *Timothy* and *Titus* were Evangelists, lies with some force upon this, that they removed from place to place, as they were sent by or accompanied the Apostles, the proof whereof appears to us, to bee of greater strength then can bee taken off by the comparison which your Majesty makes of the *Divines of the Assembly at Westminster*. We begin with the *Travails of Timothy*, as we finde them in order recorded in the Scripture-places cited in the Margin; and wee set forth from *Berea*, *Acts* 17. 14. where we finde *Timothy*; then next at *Athens*, v. 15. from whence *Paul* sends him to *Thessalonica*, *1 Thes* 3. 1, 2. afterward having been in *Macedonia*, he came to *Paul* at *Corinth*, *Acts* 18. 5. and after that, he is with *Paul* at *Ephesus*, and thence sent by him into *Macedonia*, *Acts* 19. 22. whether *S. Paul* went after him, and was by *Timothy* accompanied into *Asia*, *Acts* 20. 4. who was with him at *Troas*, verse 5. 6. who was with him at *Miletus*, verse 17. to which place *Saint Paul* sent for the Presbyters of the Church in *Ephesus*, and gave them that solemn charge to take heed unto themselves, and to all the flock, over which the holy Ghost hath made them Bishops, not speaking a word of recommendation of that Church to *Timothy*, or of him to the Elders. And if *Timothy* was Bishop of *Ephesus*, he must be so when the first Epistle was sent to him, in which hee is pretended to receive the charge of exercising his Episcopal power in Ordination and Government; but it is manifest that after this Epistle sent to him, he was in continual journeyes, or
absent

absent from *Ephesus*. For Paul left him at *Ephesus* when he went from *Macedonia*, 1 *Tim.* 1. 3. and he left him there to exercise his Office, in regulating and ordering that Church and in ordaining; but it was after this time that *Timothy* is found with Paul at *Miletus*; for after Paul had been at *Miletus*, he went to *Jerusalem*, whence he was sent prisoner to *Rome*, and never came more into *Macedonia*, and at *Rome*, *Heb.* 13. 23. *Phil.* 1. 1. *Philem.* v. 1. *Col.* 1. 1. *Heb.* 13. 23. we finde *Timothy* a prisoner with him; and these Epistles which Paul wrote while he was prisoner at *Rome*, namely the Epistle to the *Philippians*, to *Philemon*, to the *Colossians*, to the *Hebrews*, do make mention of *Timothy* as his companion at these times, nor do we ever finde him again at *Ephesus*, for we finde that after all this, towards the end of Saint Pauls life, after his first answering before *Nero*, and when he said his departing was at hand, he sent for *Timothy* to *Rome*, not from *Ephesus*; 2 *Tim.* 4. 6, 10, 11, 12, 16. for it seemes that *Timothy* was not there, because Paul giving *Timothy* an account of the absence of the most of his companions sent into diverse parts, he saith *Tychicus* have I sent to *Ephesus*. Now if your Majesty shall be pleased, to cast up into one total that which is said; the several journeyes and stations of *Timothy*, the order of them, the time spent in them, the nature of his employment, to negotiate the affairs of Christ in several Churches and places, the silence of the Scriptures, as touching his being Bishop of any one Church, you will acknowledge that such a man was not a Bishop fixed to one Church or precinct, and then by assuming that *Timothy* was such a man, you will conclude that he was not Bishop of *Ephesus*.

The like conclusion may bee enforced from the like premises, from the instance of *Titus*, whom we finde at *Jerusalem*, *Galat.* 1. 2. before hee came to *Crete*,

Crete, from whence he is sent for to *Nicopolis*, *Tit.* 3. 12. and after that he is sent to *Corinth*, from whence he is expected at *Troas*, *2 Cor.* 2. 12. and met with *Paul* in *Macedonia*, *2 Cor.* 5. 6. whence he is sent again to *Corinth*, *2 Cor.* 8. 6. and after all this is near the time of *Pauls* death at *Rome*, from whence he went not into *Crete*, but unto *Dalmatia*, *2 Tim.* 4. 10. and after this is not heard on in the Scripture; and so we hope your Majesty doth conceive, that we affirm not upon very weak proofs, that *Timothy* and *Titus* were from *Ephesus* and *Crete* removed to other places.

In the fifth exception your Majesty takes notice of two places of Scripture cited by us, to prove that they were called away from those places of *Ephesus* and *Crete*; which if they do not conclude much of themselves, yet being accompanied by two other places which your Majesty takes no notice of, may seem to conclude more, and these are *1 Tim.* v. 1. 3. *Tit.* 1. 5. *As I besought thee to abide still at Ephesus, for this cause left I thee in Crete*, in both which is specified the occasional imployment, for which they made stay in those places: and the expressions used, *I besought thee to abide still at Ephesus*, *I left thee in Crete*, do not sound like words of installment of a man into a Bishoprick, but of an intendment to call them away again; and if the first and last be put together, his actual revocation of them both, the intimation of his intention, that they should not stay there for continuance, and the reason of his beseeching the one to stay, and of his leaving the other behinde him, which was some present defects and distempers in those Churches, they will put fair to prove that the Apostle intended not to establish them Bishops of those places, and therefore did not. For the *Postscripts*, because your Majestie layes no great weight upon them, we shall not be solicitous in producing evidence against them, though they do bear witness in a matter of fact, which in our opinion never was, and in your Majesties

Majesties judgement was long before they were born, and so we conclude this Discourse about *Timothy* and *Titus* with this Observation, That in the same very Epistle of *Paul* to *Timothy*, out of which your Majesty hath endeavoured to prove that he was a Bishop, and did exercise Episcopal Government, there is clear evidence both for Presbyters imposing hands, in Ordination, and for their Ruling.

In the next point concerning the Angels of the Churches, though your Majesty saith, that you lay no weight upon the *Allegory* or *Mystery* of the denomination; yet you assert, that the persons bearing that name were *personae singulares*, and in a word *Bishops*, who yet are never so called in Scripture, and the allegorical denomination of Angels or Stars, which in the judgement of ancient and modern Writers doth belong to the faithful Ministers and Preachers of the Word in general, is appropriate (as we may so say) to the *Myer* and *Crozier* staffe, and so opposed to many expresse testimonies of Scripture: And if your Majesty hath been particular in that, wherein you say the strength of your instance lies, viz. The judgement of all ancient, and of the best modern Writers, and many probabilities in the Text it self, we hope to have made it apparent, that many ancient and eminent Writers; many probabilities out of the Text it self do give evidence to the contrary. To that which is asserted, That these singular persons were Bishops in distinct sense, whether we brought any thing of moment to infirm this, we humbly submit to your Majesties judgement, and shall onely represent to you, that in your Reply you have not taken notice of that which in our Answer seems to us of moment, which is this; That in *Mysterious* and *prophetick writing* or *visional representations* (such as this of the Stars and golden Candlesticks is) a number of things or persons is usually exprest in *singulars*, and this in visions is the usual way of Representation of things, a thousand

thousand persons making up one Church, is represented by one Candlestick; Many Ministers making up one Presbytery by one Angel. And because your Majesty seemes to call upon us to be particular, though we cannot name the Angels, nor are satisfied in our judgement, that those whom some do undertake to name were intended by the name of Angels in those Epistles; yet wee say, First, that these Epistles were sent unto the Churches, and that under the expression of *this thou dost*, or *this thou hast*, and the like; the Churches are respectively intended, for the sin reprov'd, the repentance commanded, the punishments threatned, are to be referred to the Churches, and not to the singular Angels onely, and yet we do not think that *Salvatus* did intend, nor do we, that in formal denomination the Angels and Candlesticks are the same.

Secondly, The Angels of these Churches or Rulers were a Collective Body, which wee endeavoured to prove by such probabilities as your Majesty takes no notice of, namely the instance of the Church of *Ephesus*, where there were many Bishops, to whom the charge of that Church was by Saint Paul at his final departure from them committed; as also by that expression, *Revel. 2. 24. To you and to the rest in Thiatira*; which distinction makes it very probable, that the Angel is explained under that plurality, to you; the like to which many expressions may be found in these Epistles, which to interpret according to the consentient evidence of other Scriptures of the New Testament, is not safe onely, but Solid and Evidential.

Thirdly, these Writings are directed as Epistolary Letters to Collective Bodies, usually are (that is) to One, but intended to the Body; which your Majesty illustrateth by your sending a Message to your Two Houses, and directing it to the Speaker of the House of Peers; which as it doth not hinder (we confesse)

but

but that the *Speaker* is one single person; so it doth not prove at all, that the *Speaker* is alwayes the same person; or if he were, that therefore because your Message is directed to him, he is the *Governour* or *Ruler* of the two Houses in the least; and so your Majesty hath given clear instance, that though these Letters be directed to the *Angels*, yet that notwithstanding they might neither be *Bishops*, nor yet *perpetual Moderators*. For the several opinions specified in your *MAJESTIES* paper, three of them, by easie and fair accommodation (as wee declared before) are soon reduced and united amongst themselves, and may bee holden without recess from the received judgement of the *Christian Church*, by such as are far from meriting that Asperision, which is cast upon the *Reformed Divines*, by *Popish Writers*, that they have divided themselves from the common and received judgement of the *Christian Church*; which imputation, we hope, was not in your Majesties intention to lay upon us, until it be made clear that it is the common and received judgement of the *Christian Church* that now is, or of that in former Ages, that the *Angels* of the Churches were *Bishops*, having *Prelacy* as well over *Pastors* as people within their Churches.

In the following Discourse we will deny, that the *Apostles* were to have any Successours in their Office, and affirmed onely two Orders of Ordinary and Standing Officers in the Church, vizt. *Presbyters* and *Deacons*. Concerning the former of which your *MAJESTY* refers to what you had in part already declared. 'That in those things which were extraordinary in the *Apostles*, as namely the measure of their Gifts, &c. They had no Successours in *eundem gradum*; but in those things which were not extraordinary, as the Office of Teaching and Power of Governing (which are necessary for the Service of the Church in all Times) they were to have and
'had

' had no Successours: Where your Majesty delivers a Doctrine *new* to us. Namely, that the Apostles had Successours into their Offices, not into their Abilities: For besides that, Succession is not properly into Abilities, but into Office; We cannot say, that one succeeds another in his Learning, or Wit, or Parts, but in his Room and Function: we conceive, that the office Apostolical was extraordinary *in whole*, because their Mission and Commission was so, and the service or work of Teaching and Governing being to continue in all times doth not render their Office ordinary; as the Office of *Moses* was not rendered Ordinary, because many works of Government exercised by him, were re-committed to the *standing Elders of Israel*: And if they have Successors, it must be either into their whole Office, or into some parts: Their Successors into the whole (however differing from them in measure of Gifts and peculiar Qualifications) must be called Apostles; the same Office gives the same Denomination; and then we shall confesse that Bishops, if they be their Successors in Office, are of *Divine Institution*, because the Apostolical Office was so; if their Successors come into part of their Office onely, the Presbyters may as well be called their Successors, as the Bishops, and so indeed they are called by some of the ancient Fathers, *Irenaeus, Origen, Hierome*, and others: Whereas in truth the Apostles have not properly Successors into Office, but the ordinary power of Teaching and Governing (which is settled in the Church for continuance) is instituted and settled in the hands of ordinary Officers by a *new warrant* and Commission according to the rules of Ordination and calling in the Word, which the Bishop hath not yet produced for himself, and without which he cannot challenge it upon the general allusive Speeches used by the Fathers without scruple.

And whereas your Majesty numbers the extent of their work amongst those things which were extraordinary

dinary in the Apostles, we could wish that you had declared whether it belong to their Mission or Unction; for we humbly conceive, that their authorative power to do their Work in all places of the World, did properly belong to their Mission, and consequently that their Office, as well as their Abilities was extraordinary, and so by your *Majesties own concession* not to be succeeded into by the Bishops.

As to the Orders of standing Officers of the Church your Majesty doth reply, 'That although in the places cited, *Phil. I. I. 1 Tim 3. 8.* there be no mention 'but of the *two Orders onely of Bishops or Presbyters, and Deacons*; yet it is not thereby proved that there is no other standing Office in the Church besides, which we humbly conceive is justly proved, not only because there are no other named, but because there is no rule of Ordaining any *third*, no Warrant or *way of Mission*, and so the Argument is as good, as can be made, a *non causa ad non effectum*; for we do not yet apprehend that the Bishops pretending to the Apostolick Office do also pretend to the same manner of Mission, nor do we know that those very many Divines that have asserted *two orders onely*, have concluded it from any other grounds then the Scriptures cited.

There appears (as your Majesty saith) two other manifest reasons why the Office of Bishops might not be so proper to be mentioned in those places. And we humbly conceive there is a third more manifest then these two, *viz. because, It was not.*

'The one reason given by your Majesty, is because 'in the Churches which the Apostles themselves 'planted, they placed Presbyters under them for the 'Office of Teaching, but reserved in their *own hands* 'the power of Governing those Churches for a longer 'or shorter time before they set Bishops over them. Which under your Majesties favour is not so much a reason why *Bishops are not mentioned* to be in those places

places as they indeed were not; the variety of reasons, (may we say, or conjectures) rendred why Bishops were not set up at first, as namely because fit men could not be so soon found out, which is *Epiphanius* his reason, or for remedy of *Schisme*, which is *Jeromes* reason, or because the Apostles saw it not expedient, which is your MAJESTIES reason: doth shew that this cause labours under a manifest weakness; for the Apostles reserving in their own hands the power of Governing, we grant it, they could no more devest themselves of power of Governing, then (as Doctor *Bilson* saith) they could lose their Apostleship: had they set up Bishops in all Churches, they had no more parted with their power of Governing, then they did in setting up the Presbyters: for we have proved that Presbyters, being called *Rulers, Governours, Bishops*, had the power of governing in Ordinary, committed to them, as well as the Office of Teaching, and that both the *Keyes* (as they are called) being by our Saviour committed into one hand, were not by the Apostles divided into two: Nor do we see, how the Apostles could, reasonably commit the Government of the Church to the Presbyters of *Ephesus*, *Acts 20.* and yet reserve the power of Governing (*vizt.* in ordinary) in his own hands, who took his *solemn leave of them as never to see their faces more.* As that part of the power of Government, which for distinction sake may be called *Legis-Lative*, and which is one of the three fore-mentioned things challenged by the Bishops; *vizt.* Giving Rules, the reserving of it in the Apostles hands hindered not; but that in your MAJESTIES judgement *Timothy* and *Titus* were Bishops of *Ephesus* and *Crete*, to whom the Apostle gives Rules for Ordering and Governing of the Church: Nor is there any more reason that the Apostles reserving that part of the power of Governing which is called *Executive* in such cases, and upon such occasions as they

thought

thought meet should hinder the setting up of Bishops, if they had intended it; and therefore the reserving of power in their hands can be no greater reason why they did not set up Bishops *at the first*, then that *they never did*. And since (by your Majesties Concession) the Presbyters were placed by the Apostles *first*, in the Churches by them planted, and that with power of Governing, as we prove by Scripture, you must prove the *super-institution* of a Bishop over the Presbyters by the Apostles in some after times, or else we must conclude that the Bishops got both his Name and power of Government out of the Presbyters hand, as the *Tree in the wall* roots out the stones by little and little as it self grows.

As touching *Philippi*, where your Majesty saith, it may be probable there was *yet no Bishop*, it is certain there *were many*, like them, who were also at *Ephesus*, to whom if onely the Office of Teaching did belong, they had the most laborious and honourable part, that which was lesse honourable being reserved in the Apostles hands, and the Churches left in the mean time without ordinary Government.

The other reason given why two Orders onely are mentioned in those places is, because he wrote in the Epistles to *Timothy* and *Titus* to them that were Bishops, so there was no need to write any thing concerning the Choice and Qualification of any other sort of Officers then such, as belonged to their Ordination and inspection, which were Presbyters and Deacons onely, and no Bishops.

The former reason why two onely Orders are mentioned in the Epistle to the *Philippians*, was, because *there was yet no Bishop*; this latter reason why the same two onely are mentioned in these Epistles, is because there was *no Bishop to be ordained*; we might own the reason for good, if there may be found any rule for the Ordination of the other Order of Bishops in some other place of Scripture, but if the Ordination
cannot

cannot be found, how should we finde the Order? and it is reasonable to think, that the Apostle in the Chapter formerly alleadged, 1 Tim. 3. where he passes immediatly from the Bishop to the Deacon, would have distinctly exprest, or at least hinted, what sort of Bishop he meant, whether the *Bishop over Presbyters*, or the *Presbyter-Bishop*, to have avoided the confusion of the name, and to have set as it were some mark of difference in the *Eschocheon* of the *Presbyter-Bishop*, if there had been some other Bishop of a bigger house. And whereas your Maj. saith, there was no need to write to them about a Bishop in a distinct sence, who belonged not to their ordination and inspection; we conceive that in your Majesties judgment, Bishops might then have ordained Bishops like themselves; for there was then no Canon forbidding one single Bishop to ordain another of his own rank, and there being many Cities in Crete, Titus might have found it expedient (as those ancient Fathers that call him Arch-Bishop think he did) to have set up Bishops in some of those Cities: So that this reason fights against the principles of those that hold Timothy and Titus to have been Bishops; for our part we beleeve that these rules belonged not to Timothy & Titus with strict limitation to Ephesus, and Crete; but respectively to all the places or Churches where they might come; and to all that shall at any time have the office of Ordaining and Governing, as it is written in the same Chapter, 1 Tim. 3. 14, 15. *Those things I have written unto thee, &c. that thou mayest know how to behave thy self in the House of God, which is the Church;* and therefore if there had been any proper Character or Qualification of a Bishop distinct from a Presbyter, if any Ordination or Office, we think the Apostle would have signified it, but because he did not, we conclude (and the more strongly from the insufficiency of your Majesties two reasons) that there are onely two Orders of Officers, and consequently that a Bishop is not superior

our to a Presbyter: for we finde not (as we said in our Answer) that one Officer is superiour to another, who is of the same Order.

Concerning the Ages succeeding the Apostles.

‘ Your Majesty having in your first Paper said, that
 ‘ you could not in Conscience consent to abolish E-
 ‘ piscopal Government, because you did conceive it
 ‘ to be of *Apostolical Institution*, practised by the Apo-
 ‘ stles themselves, and by them committed and deri-
 ‘ ved to particular persons as their *Successours*, and
 ‘ have ever since till these last times bin exercised by
 ‘ Bishops in all the Churches of Christ: We thought
 it necessary in our Answer, to subjoyn to that we
 had said out of the Scriptnres, the judgement of di-
 vers ancient Writers and Fathers, by whom Bishops
 were not acknowledged as a *Divine*, but as an *Eccle-
 siastical Institution*, as that which might very much con-
 duce both to the easing of your Majesties scruple, to
 consider that howsoever Episcopal Government was
 generally currant, yet the superscription was not
 judged Divine, by some of those that either were
 themselves Bishops, or lived under that government,
 and to the vindication of the opinion which we hold,
 from the prejudice of *Novellisme*, or of *recesse* from the
 judgement of all Antiquity.

We do as firmly believe (as to matter of fact) that
Chrysostome and *Austin* were Bishops, as that *Aristotle*
 was a Philosopher, *Cicero* an Orator; though wee
 should rather call our faith and belief thereof certain
 in matter of fact, upon humane testimonies uncon-
 trolled, then infallible in respect of the Testimonies
 themselves. But whereas your Majesty saith, ‘ That
 ‘ the darknesse of the History of the Church, in the
 ‘ time succeeding the Apostles, is a strong argument
 ‘ for Episcopacy, which notwithstanding that dark-
 ‘ nesse hath found so full proof by unquestioned Cata-
 logues,

‘logues, as scarce any other matter of fact hath found, the like. We humbly conceive that those fore-mentioned times were dark to the Catalogue-makers, who must drive the *series* of Succession from, and through those Historical darkneses, and so make up their catalogues very much from Tradition and Reports, which can give no great Evidence, because they agree not amongst themselves : that which is the great blemish of their evidence is, that the neerer they come to the Apostles times (wherein they should be most of all clear, to establish the Succession firm and clear at first), the more doubtful, uncertain, and indeed contradictory to one another, are the Testimonies. Some say that *Clemens* was first Bishop of *Rome*, after *Peter*, some say the third : and the intricacies about the Order of Succession, in *Linus*, *Anacletus*, *Clemens*, and another called *Cletus* (as some affirm) are inextricable. Some say, that *Titus* was Bishop of *Crete* ; some say Arch-bishop ; and some Bishop of *Dalmatia*. Some say, that *Timothy* was Bishop of *Ephesus* ; and some say, that *John* was Bishop of *Ephesus* at the same time : Some say, that *Polycarpus* was first Bishop of *Smyrna* ; another saith, that he succeeded one *Buculus* ; and another, that *Aristo* was first. Some say, that *Alexandria* had but one Bishop, and other Cities two ; and others, that there was but one Bishop of one Citie at the same time. And how should those Catalogues be unquestionable, which must be made up out of Testimonies that fight one with another ? We must confesse that the ancient Fathers, *Tertullian*, *Irenaeus*, &c. made use of Succession, as an Argument against *Hereticks*, or Innovators, to prove that they had the *traduces Apostolici seminis*, and that the Godly and Orthodox Fathers were on their side. But that which we now have in hand, is Succession in Office ; which according to the Catalogues, resolves it self into some Apostle, or Evangelist, as the first Bishop of such a City or Place, who (as we conceive)

could

could not be Bishops of those places, being of an higher Office; though according to the language of after-times, they might by them that drew up the Catalogues, be so called, because they planted, and founded, or watered those Churches to which they are entituled, and had their greatest residence in them: Or else the Catalogues are drawn from some eminent men that were of great veneration and reverence in the times and places where they lived, and Presidents or Moderators of the Presbyteries, whereof themselves were members: from whom, to pretend the Succession of after-Bishops, is as if it should be said, that *Cæsar* was Successour to the Roman Consuls. And we humbly conceive, that there are some Rites and Ceremonies used continually in the Church of old, which are asserted to be found in the Apostolical and Primitive times, and yet have no colour of Divine Institution, &c, which is argument above all other, the *Fathers*, whose names we exhibited to your Majesty in our answer, were doubtlesse acquainted with the catalogues of Bishops who had been before them, and yet did hold them to be of *Ecclesiastical Institution*.

And lest your Majesty might reply, That however the testimonies and catalogues may vary, or be mistaken, in the order or times, or names of those persons that succeeded the *Apostles*, yet all agree, that there was a succession of some persons; and so, though the credit of the Catalogues be infirmed, yet the thing intended is confirmed thereby: We grant, that a succession of men to feed and govern those Churches, while they continued Churches, cannot be denied, and that the *Apostles* and *Evangelists*, that planted and watered those Churches (though extraordinary and temporary Officers) were by Ecclesiastical Writers, in compliance with the Language and usage of their own times, called Bishops; and so were other eminent men, of chief note, presiding in the *Presbyteries* of the Cities or Churches, called by such Writers as wrote after the divi-

sion or *distinction* of the names of Presbyters, and Bishops: But that those first and ancientest Presbyters were Bishops in proper sense, according to your Majesties description, invested with power over Presbyters and people, to whom (as distinct from Presbyters) did belong the power of *Ordaining, giving Rules, and Censures*; we humbly conceive can never be proved by authentick or competent testimonies. And granting, that your Majesty should prove the Succession of Bishops from the Primitive times *seriatim*: yet if these from whom you draw, and through whom you derive it, be found either *more then* Bishops, as Apostles and extraordinary persons, or *lesse then* Bishops, as meerly first Presbyters, having not one of the *three essentials to Episcopal government* (mentioned by your Majesty) in their own hand; it will follow, that all that your Majesty hath proved by this Succession, is the *Homonymy* and equivocal acceptance of the word *Episcopus*.

For *Clemens* his testimony, which your Majesty conceiveth to be made use of, as our old fallacy, from the *promiscuous* use of the words to infer the distinction of the things; we refer our selves to himself in his Epistle, now in all mens hands, whose testimony we think cannot be eluded, but by the old artifice, of *hiding the Bishop under the Presbyters name*: For they that have read his whole Epistle, and have considered, that himself is called a Bishop, may doubt of *Clemens opinion*, concerning his distinct Offices of Bishops and Presbyters, or rather *not doubt* of it, if onely his one Epistle may be impaneld upon the Inquest. Concerning *Ignatius* his Epistles, your Majesty is pleased to use some *earnestnesse of expression*, charging some of late, without any regard of *ingenuity* or *truth*, out of their partial disaffection to Bishops, to have endeavoured to discredit his writings. One of those cited by us, cannot (as we conceive) be suspected of disaffection to Bishops; and there are great arguments drawn

drawn out of those Epistles themselves, betraying their insincerity, adulterate mixtures, and *interpollutions*; So that *Ignatius* cannot be distinctly known in *Ignatius*. And if we take him in grosse, we make him the *Patron* (as *Baronius* and the rest of the Popish writers do) of such rites and observations, as the Church in his time cannot be thought to have owned. He doth indeed give testimony to the *Prelacy*, of a Bishop above a Presbyter, that which may justly render him suspected, is that he, *gives too much honour* (saith he) *the Bishops* as Gods high Priests, and after him you must honour the *King*. He was indeed a holy Martyr, and his writings have suffered *Martyrdom*, as well as he; *corruptions could not go currant, but under the credit of worthy names*.

That which your Majesty saith in your fourth Paragraph, That we might have added (if we had pleased) That *James, Timothy, Titus, &c.* were constituted and ordained Bishops, of the forementioned places respectively, and that all the Bishops of those times were reputed Successours to the *Apostles* in their *Episcopal office*: We could not have added it without prejudice (as we humbly conceive) to the truth; for the Apostles did not ordain *any of themselves* Bishops, nor could they do it; for even by your Majesties confession, they were Bishops before, *viz.* as they were Apostles, nor could any Apostle have his choice of a *certain Region* or place to exercise his function in, whilest he pleased render him a Bishop, any more then *Paul* was Bishop of the *Gentiles*, *Peter* of the *Circumcision*. Neither did the Apostles ordain the Evangelists Bishops of those places unto which they sent them: Nor were the Bishops of those times any more then as your Majesty saith, *reputed Successours* to the Apostles, in their *Episcopal Office*, they came after the Apostles in the Churches by them planted, so might Presbyters do; but that is not properly succession, at least not succession into office, and this we

say with a *Salvo* to our assertion, that in those times there were no such Bishops distinct from Presbyters: Neither do we understand, whether the words *Episcopal Office*, in this Section, refer to the Bishops or Apostles; for in reference to Apostles, it insinuates a distinction of the Apostles office, into Apostolical and Episcopal, or that the office Apostolical, was wholly Episcopal, unto neither of which we can give our consent for reasons forementioned. To the testimonies by us recited in proof of two onely Orders, Your Majesty answers first, that the promiscuous use of the names of Bishops and Presbyters, is imported, That which your Majesty not long ago called *our old fallacy*, is now your answer onely with this difference: We under promiscuous names hold the same office: your Majesty under promiscuous names supposes two, which if as it is often asserted, was but once proved, we should take it for a determinate of this controversie. Secondly, that they relate to a 'School-point, or a nicety, *Utrum Episcopatus sit ordo vel gradus*, both sides of the questionists or disputants 'in the mean time *acknowledging* the right of Church-government in the Bishops alone; It is confest by us, that that question as it is stated by Popish Authors, is a *curious nicety*, to which we have no eye or reference; for though the same Officers may differ from and excel others of the same Order in gifts or qualifications: Yet the Office it self is one and the same, without difference or degrees, as one Apostle or Presbyter, is not superiour to another in degree of Office; they that are of the same order are of the same degree, in respect of Office, as having power and authority to the same Acts. Nor doth the Scripture warrant or allow, any superiority of one over another of the same Order; and therefore the proving of two Orders onely in the Church, is a demonstration, that Presbyters and Bishops are the same. In which point the Scripture will counter-balance the testi-

testimonies of those that assert three degrees or orders, though ten for one. But for easing of your Majesty of the trouble of producing testimonies against those cited by us, We make this humble motion, that the Regiments on both sides may be discharged out of the field, and the point disputed by Dint of holy Scripture, *id verum quod primum*:

Having passed through the argumentative parts of your Majesties Reply, wherein we should account it a great happinesse, to have given your Majesty any satisfaction, in order whereunto you pleased to honour us with this imployment, We shall contract our selves in the remainder, craving your Majesties pardon, if you shall conceive us to have been too much in the former, and too little in that which follows. We honour the pious intentions and munificence of your Royal Progenitors, and do acknowledge that ornamental accessions granted to the person, do not make any substantial change in the Office; the real difference between that Episcopal Government, which first obtained in the Church, and the present Hierarchy, consists *in ipso regimine & modo regiminis*, which cannot be clearly demonstrated in particulars, until it be agreed on both sides, what that Episcopacy was then, and what the Hierarchy is now, and then it would appear, whether these three fore-mentioned essentials of Episcopal Government, were the same in both: For the power under Christian Princes, and under Pagan, is one and the same, though the exercise be not. And we humbly receive your Majesties pious advertisement, (not unlike that of *Constantines*) stirring us up as men unbiassed with private interests, to study the neereſt accommodation and best resemblance to the Apostolical and primitive times. But for your Majesties *Salvo* to the Bishops sole power of Ordination and Jurisdiction, & that distinction of Ordination, authoritative in the Bishop, and the Concomitant in the Presbytery,

which you seem to found upon these two Texts, 2 Tim. 1. 6. 1 Tim. 4. 14. and which is used by Dr. Bilson, and other defenders of Episcopacy, in explication of that Canon of the fourth *Council of Carthage*, which enjoyns the joynt imposition of the Bishops and Presbyters hands, We shall give your Majesty an account, when we shall be called to the disquisition thereof; Albeit that we do not for the present see, but that this *proviso* of your Majesty, renders our accommodation to the Apostolical and Primitive times (whereunto You did exhort us) unfeisable. We notwithstanding, do fully professe our acknowledgement of *subordination* of the outward exercise of Jurisdiction, to the Sovereign power, and our accomptableness to the Laws of the Land. As for your Majesties three questions of great importance, Whether there be a certain form of government left by Christ or his Apostles, to be observed by all Christian Churches; Whether it binde perpetually, or be upon occasion alterable in whole, or in part; Whether that certain form of Government, be the Episcopal, Presbyterian, or some other, differing from them both: The whole Volume of Ecclesiastical Policy, is contained in them; and we hope that neither your Majesty expected of us a particular answer to them at this time, nor will take offence at us, if we hold onely to that which is the question, in order to the Bill of *Abolition*; for we humbly professe our readinesse to serve your Majesty, answering these or any other questions, within our proper *recognizance*, according to the proportion of our mean abilities.

For your Majesties condiscention, in vouchsafing us the liberty and honour of examining your learned Reply, clothed in such excellency of stile, and for your exceeding candour, shewed to such men as we are; and for the acceptation of our humble duty, we render to your Majesty most humble thanks, and shall pray, that such a pen in the hand of such abilities,
may

may ever bee employed in a subject worthy of it.

That your Majesty would please to consider, that in this point under debate, *succession* is not the best *clew*, and most certain and ready way to finde out the *Original*; for to go that way, is to go the furthest way about, yea, to go backward; and when you are at the *spring*, viz. the *Scripture* it self, you go to the *Rivers end*, that you may seek the *spring*.

And that the Lord would guide your Majesty, and the two Houses of Parliament, by the *right hand* of his Conncel, and shew you a happy way of healing our unhappy differences, and of settling the Common wealth of Jesus Christ, which is the Church; so as all the members thereof, may be under you in all godlinesse, peace and Honesty.



His MAJESTIES finall Answer concerning Episcopacy, No- vemb. 1. 1648.

WHat you have offered by way of Reply to his Majesties second paper, of Octob. 6. in yours of Octob. 17. in order to the further satisfaction of his conscience in the point of Episcopacy, His Majesty heard, when it was publickly read by you, with diligent attention, and hath since (so far as his leisure would permit) taken the same into his private and serious Consideration; Wherein his Majesty not only acknowledgeth your great pains and endeavours to
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inform his Judgement, according to such perswasions as your selves have in the matter in debate; but also taketh special notice of the civility of your applications to him both in the Body and conclusion of your Reply: yet he cannot but observe withal, that in very many things you either mistake his meaning and purpose in that paper, or at least come not up fully enough thereunto in this Reply. Which to have shewn, will sufficiently remonstrate your present Reply to be unsatisfactory in that behalf, without making a particular answer to every passage in it, which to a paper of that length would require more time then his Majesty can think fit (amidst the present weighty affairs) to allow unto a debate of this Nature, Especially since his Majesty hath often found mutual returns of long answers, and Replies, to have rather multiplyed disputes by starting new questions, then informing the conscience by removing former scruples.

1. Reply. Sect. 1. 2. *As to the Scriptures cited in the Margin of his Majesties first paper.* It being granted by you, that those Scriptures did prove the Apostles, and others being single persons to have exercised respectively the severall points in the paper specified, which powers (by your own confessions in this Reply) (Sect. 7.) a single person who is but a meer Presbyter hath no right to exercise: And it being withal evident, that a Bishop in the Ecclesiastical sense, & as distinct from a Presbyter, layeth claim to no more then to a peculiar right in the exercise of some, or all of the said powers, which a meer Presbyter hath not; the conclusion seemeth natural and evident, that such a power of Church-Government as we usually call Episcopal is sufficiently proved by those Scriptures.

2. Reply. Sect. 3. 5. *As to the Bishops Challenge.* First, when you speak of a Writ of partition, you seem to take his Majesties words, as if he had shared and cantoned out the Episcopal Office, one part the Bishops alone, another to the Presbyters alone; and you fall upon

upon the same again afterwards (*Seff. 6.*) whereas his Majesties meaning was, and by his words appeareth so to have been, that one part of the Office (*that of teaching, &c.*) was common to both alike; but the other part (*That of governing Churches*) to the Bishop alone.

Secondly, you infer from his Majesties words, 'That the Bishops challenge appears to be grown to more than was formerly pretended to. Which inference his Majesties words by you truly cited, if rightly understood will not bear. For having proved from Scripture the power of Church-government, in all the three mentioned particulars to have been exercised by the Apostles, and others; his Majesty said but this onely, 'That the Bishops challenge no more, or other power to belong unto them, in respect of their Episcopal Office, then what properly falleth under one of these three. The words are true; for he that believeth they challenge not so much, might safely say, they challenge no more. But the inference is not good; For he that saith they challenge no more, doth not necessarily imply they challenge all that. In the power of Ordination which is purely spiritual, his Majesty conceiveth the Bishops challenge to have been much-what the same in all times of the Church; And therefore it is, that the matter of Ordination is most insisted on, as the most constant and most evident difference between Bishops & Presbyters, especially after the times of *Constantine*, which his Majesty by your relating to *Chysofome* and *Hierome* taketh to be the same you call the times of *Grown Episcopacy*. But his Majesty seeth no necessity, that the Bishops challenge to the power of Jurisdiction should be at all times as large as the exercise thereof appeareth at some times to have bin; the exercise thereof being variable according to the various condition of the Church in different times. And therefore his Majesty doth not believe that the Bishops under Christian Princes do challenge such an amplitude of jurisdiction to belong

unto them in respect of their Episcopal Office precisely, as was exercised in the Primitive times by Bishops before the dayes of *Constantine*. The reason of the difference being evident, That in those former times under Pagan Princes the Church was a distinct Body of it self, divided from the Common-wealth, and so was to be governed by its own Rules, and Rulers. The Bishops therefore of those times, though they had no outward coercive power over mens persons, or estates, yet inasmuch as every Christian man when he became a Member of the Church, did *ipso facto*, and by that his own voluntary act, put himself under their Government, they exercised a very large power of Jurisdiction in *Spiritualibus*, in making Ecclesiastical Canons, receiving accusations, conventing the accused, examining Witnesses, judging of crimes, excluding such as they found guilty of scandalous offences from the Lords Supper, enjoyning penances upon them, casting them out of the Church, receiving them again upon their repentance, &c. And all this they exercised as well over Presbyters as others: But after that the Church under Christian Princes began to be incorporated into the Common-wealth, whereupon there must of necessity follow a complication of the Civil and Ecclesiastical powers, the Jurisdiction of Bishops (in the outward exercise of it) was subordinate unto, and limitable by the Supreme Civil power, and hath been, and is at this day, so acknowledged by the Bishops of this Realm.

Thirdly, you seem to affirm in a parenthesis, as if nothing were confessed to have been extraordinary in the Apostles but their gifts, and Enablements only; whereas his Majesty in that paper hath in expresse words named as Extraordinaries also, the extent of their charge, and the infallibility of their Doctrine, without any meaning to exclude those not named, as their immediate Calling, and if there be any other of like reason.

Fourthly,

Fourthly, for the Claim to a *jus Divinum*, His Majesty was willing to decline both the Term (as being by reason of the different acception of it subject to misconstruction) and the dispute whether by Christ or his Apostles. Neverthelesse, although his Majesty sees no cause to dislike their opinion; who derive the Episcopal power originally from Christ himself, without whose warrant the Apostles would not either have exercised it themselves, or derived it to others; Yet for that the practice in them is so clear, and evident, and the warrant from him exprest but in general terms (As my Father sent me, so send I you, and the like) His Majesty chose rather (as others have done) to fix the claim of the power upon that practise, as the more evidential way, then upon the warrant, which by reason of the generality of expression would bear more dispute.

3. *Reply, Sect. 6. As to the definition of Episcopacy.* First, whereas you except against it, for that it is competent to Archiepiscopal and Patriarchal Government as well as Episcopal, his Majesty thinketh you might have excepted more justly against it if it had been otherwise.

Secondly his Majesty believeth, that even in the persons by you named (*Timothy, Titus, and the Angels*) the definition in all the parts of it is to be found, viz. that they had each their several peculiar charges, and that within their several precincts, they had authority over Presbyters as well as others.

Neither thirdly, doth his Majesty think it needful that any word be added to the *Genus* in the definition, or that the Scripture should any where put all the parts of the definition together; It would be a hard matter to give such a definition of an Apostle, or a Prophet, or an Evangelist, or a Presbyter, or a Deacon, or indeed almost of any thing, as that the parts thereof should be found in any place of Scripture put altogether.

Fourthly,

Fourthly, his Majesty consenteth with you, that the point in issue, is not the Name or Work meerly, but the Office, and that it were a fallacy to argue a particular Office from a general or common Work: But judgeth withal it can be no fallacy to argue a particular Office, from such a work as is peculiar to that Office; and is as it were the *formalis ratio* thereof, and therefore no fallacy from a work done by a single person, which a single Presbyter hath no right to do, to infer an Office in that person distinct from the Office of a Presbyter.

4 Reply, Sect. 7. *As to the Scriptures cited by you, viz. Tit. 1. Acts 20. 2 Pet. 5.* First, when you say you take his Majesties Concession, That in those times of the Church, and places of Scripture, there was no distinct Office of Bishops and Presbyters; If you take it so, truly you take it gratis, (His Majesty never gave it you:) and you mistake it too, more wayes then one, for to speak properly, His Majesty made no Concession at all. It was rather a Preterition in order to the present businesse, and to avoid unnecessary disputes, which ought not to be interpreted as an acknowledgement of the truth of your Expositions of those places. For his own expresse words are, 'Although his Majesty be not sure that the proof wil reach so far in each of those places, w^{ch} words plainly evidence, that which you call his Majesties Concession to be indeed no concession; but to have been meant according to that form of speech very usual in Disputations, *Dato, non concessio*. But in that Concession, such as it is, his Majesty is not able to imagine what you could find whereon to ground those words, 'That in those times of the Church there was no distinct, &c. there being not any thing in the whole passage that carrieth the least sound that way, or that hath relation to any particular times of the Church. Neither is the Concession such as you take it, as it relateth to those places of Scripture. What his Majesty said is confessed on all sides

fides (which are the words you take for a Concession) was but this, That supposing (but not granting) the word Bishop to be used in all those places to signifie a Presbyter, the Office & Work in those places mentioned as the Office & Work of a Bishop are (upon that supposal) the Office and Work of a Presbyter, which is so manifest a truth, that no man without admitting contradictions can say the contrary. But how wide or short that is from what you make to be his Majesties Concession, your selves by comparing his words with yours may easily judge. But your selves a little after make a concession, which his Majesty (warned by your Example how soon anothers meaning may be mistaken when his words are altered) is willing to take in the same words you give it, viz. When you say, and you bring reasons also to prove it, That it seemeth manifest, that Ordination and Censures are not to be exercised by a single Presbyter.

2. You repeat your Arguments formerly drawn from those places, and presse the same from the force of the words *πρεσβυτεριον* & *ἐπισκοποιαν*, and from the circumstances of the Text, and otherwise adding withall that his Majesty hath waved the notice or answer of something by you alledged therein. Hereunto his Majesty saith, that he waved not any thing in your former paper, for any great difficulty he conceived of answering it; but being desirous to contract his answer, & knowing to what frailties, Arguments drawn from Names and Words, and conjectural Expositions of Scripture are subject, he passed by such things as he deemed to be of least consideration in order to the end of the whole debate; to wit the satisfaction of his judgement and conscience in the main businesse. Otherwise his Majesty could have then told you, That there are, who by the like conjectures, grounded (as seems to them) on some probabilities in the text, interpret those places in the *Asts* & in *S. Peter* of Bishops properly so called, & in the restrained Ecclesiastical sense, rather then of ordinary

ordinary Presbyters; That supposing them both meant of ordinary Presbyters, the words *ποιμαίνει* and *ἐπισκοπεῖν* (which signifie to feed and to oversee) might not unfitly be applyed to them as inferiour Pastors, in relation to their flocks under their charge and oversight (the Flock being in both the places expressly mentioned) which hindereth not, but the same words may in a more peculiar manner be appropriated to Bishops in respect of that authority and oversight they have over Presbyters themselves also; That still granting your own interpretation of the word Bishop in that place to *Titus*, it can prove no more then that the two names in that place are given to the same Function: That from all the premises in your paper there layed together, and supposed true, his Majesty doth not conceive it justly proved, That the Office of a Bishop and Presbyter is wholly the same, but at the most, that the Offices were not in those places distinguished by those Names.

Thirdly, if the assignment of any particular Qualification, work or duty, unto a Bishop, distinct from a Presbyter, by the Scripture, would (as you say) put this question neer to an issue; his Majesty should well have hoped, that it might soon be brought to a near point, and that from the evidence of the Epistles onely of *S. Paul* to *Timothy*, Wherein as he particularly expresseth the qualification, work, and duty of Presbyters and Deacons, that *Timothy* might know what persons were fit to be ordained unto those Offices: So in the directions given to *Timothy* throughout those Epistles, he sufficiently describeth the qualification, work, and duty of a Bishop, that *Timothy* might know how to behave himself in the exercise of his Episcopal Office, as well in ordaining as in governing the Church.

As to the signification of the word *Episcopus*, the primary signification thereof, and the application of it to Church Officers, you acknowledge: and that the same

same was after by Ecclesiastical usage appropriated to Bishops you deny not: But the distinction of *Episcopus gregis*, & *Episcopus pastorum*, you do not allow. If you disallow it for the unfitnessse of the word as may seem by that passage, where you say, 'That his Majesty hath said, that *Episcopus* signifieth a Keeper of 'Shepherds; His Majesty thinketh you might very well have spared that exception. For if there be a person that hath the oversight of many Shepherds under him, there is no more impropriety in giving such a person the stile of *Episcopus pastorum*, then there is in using of the word *ἀρχιεπίσκοπος*, or in calling Doeg the Master of Sauls Herdmen. And for the thing it self, it cannot be denied, but that the Apostles, and Timothy and Titus (by what claim ordinary, or extraordinary, as to the present businesse it matters not) had the oversight and authority over many Pastors, and were therefore truly and really *Episcopi pastorum*.

The appropriation of the names of *Episcopus* and *Presbyter* to these distinct Offices, considering that it was done so early, and received so universally in the Church, as by the writings of *Clemens*, *Ignatius*, the Canons commonly called of the Apostles, and other ancient evidences doth appear. His Majesty hath great reason to believe, that it was done by consent of the primitive Bishops, meerly in honour of the Apostles, out of their respect and reverence to whose persons, and personal prerogatives, they chose to call themselves Bishops, rather than Apostles in common usage, although they made no scruple to maintain their succession from the Apostles, when they spake of things proper to the Episcopal Function, not to use upon occasion the terms of Apostle and Apostolical in that sense, the truth of all which is to be seen frequently in the writings of the Ancients.

The testimonies of so many writers, ancient and modern, as have been produced for the Scripture-original of Bishops, his Majesty conceiveth to be of

so great importance in a question of this nature, that he thinketh himself bound both in charity & reason to believe, that so many men of such quality would not have asserted the same with so much confidence but upon very good ground. The men respectively of high estimation & reverend authority in the Church, worthily renowned for their learning and piety of moderate & even passions, of *Orthodox* belief, sundry of them uninteressed in the quarrel, and some of them of later times by interest & education byassed rather the other way. Their assertions positive, peremptory, and full of assurances (*constat & nemo ignorat*, it is clear, none can be ignorant, and other such like expressions.) Namely that Christ constituted Bishops in the Apostles; That it was founded upon a divine Law, That *Episcopacy* is *διαταξις θεου*, The Ordinance of God; That it seemed good to the *holy Ghost* so to order it, &c. Insomuch as they counted *Aerius* an Heretick for holding the contrary. And this their judgement they delivered as led thereunto by divine evidence of Scripture (*θεος λεγει διδασκει*, Gods word teacheth it, *apertis Scripturae testimoniis*, it appeareth by plain testimonies of Scripture, *discimus ex hoc loco*. From this place we learn, and the like) which testimonies should they be encountered (as his Majesty doth not yet believe they can be) with a cloud of witnesses to the contrary for number, and in every other respect equal thereunto; yet should not the authority of their evidence in reason be much lessened thereby: inasmuch as one witness for the Affirmative ought to be of more value then ten for the Negative; and the testimony of one person that is not interessed, then of an hundred that are.

And whereas you seem in this question to decline this kinde of trial, because matter of right is properly triable by Scripture; his Majesty conceiveth this present question, in what terms soever proposed, to be yet in the true stating of it, & in the last resolution, clearly a question of fact & not of right; For what right soever the *Bishops* have or pretend to have, must be derived

from the fact or *Christ* or his *Apostles*. Which matter of fact, if it be not in the most plain *historical* manner that may be related in the Scriptures, but is to be deduced thence by topical remote inferences, and probability of conjectures, the most rational & proper expedient for the finding out of the right, is to have recourse to the Judgement, but especially to the practise of the nearest and subsequent times; according to the received Maxims, *Lex currit cum Praxi, & Consuetudo optimus interpret Legum*. Now he that shall finde by all the best Records extant, that the distinction of Bishops from, & the superiority over Presbyters was so universally, and speedily spread over the face of the whole World, and their government submitted unto so unanimously by the Presbyters, that there never was any considerable opposition made there-against before Aerius (and that cryed down as an *Heresie*) nor since till this last Age: & shall duly consider withall, that if *Episcopal* government had not had an indubitable institution from the authority of *Christ* & his *Apostles*, or if any other form of Church government could have pretended to such institution, had bin the most impossible thing in the world, when there neither was any outward certain power to inforce it, nor could be any general Council to establish it, to have introduced such a form of government so suddenly & quietly, into all *Christian Churches*, & not the spirit of any one Presbyter for ought that appeareth for above 300 years, to have bin provoked either through zeal, ambition, or other motive, to stand up in the just defence of their own & the Churches liberty against such an usurpation. His Majesty believeth that whosoever shall consider the premises, together with the Scripture evidences that are brought for that Government, will see reason enough to conclude the same to have something of divine institution in it, notwithstanding all the evasions and objections that the subtil wit of man can devise to perswade the contrary. And therefore his Majesty thinketh it fit, plainly to tell you, that such

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Conjectural Interpretations of Scripture, as he hath yet met with in this Argument, how handsomely soever set off, are not Engines of strength enough to remove him from that judgement wherein he hath been settled from his Childhood, and findeth so consonant to the judgement of Antiquity, and to the constant practice of the Christian Church for so many hundred years; which in a matter of this nature ought to weigh more then meer conjectural Inferences from Scripture Texts that are not so attested. Which having now once told you, his Majesty thinketh himself discharged from the necessity of making so large and particular an answer to every allegation in the sequel of your Reply, as hitherto he hath done.

6. *Reply, Sect. 9.* As to the Apostles Mission and Succession. To make his answer the shorter to so long a discourse, His Majesty declareth, that his meaning was not by distinguishing the Mission and Unction of the Apostles, so to confine them, as if they should relate precisely and exclusively, the one to the office, the other to the abilities, but that they did more especially and eminently so relate: For the Apostles after their last Mission, (*Matth. 28. 19, 20*) whereby they were further warranted to their Office, and Work, were yet to wait for that promised anointing (*Luke 24. 49. Acts 1. 4.*) the special effect whereof was the enduing them with Gifts of the Holy Ghost, for the better & more effectual performing of that their work and Office. Nor was it his Majesties meaning to restrain the extraordinaries in the Apostolical Office to those gifts onely: (for his Majesty afterwards in the same paper mentioneth other extraordinaries also, as before is said) but onely to instance in those gifts, as one sort of extraordinaries, wherein the Apostles were to have no Successours. But his Majesties full meaning was, that the whole Apostolical Office (setting aside all and onely what was personal and extraordinary in them) consisted

in the work of teaching and governing, which being both of necessary and perpetual use in the Church to the worlds end, the Office therefore was also to continue, and consequently the persons of the Apostles being mortal, to be transmitted and derived to others in succession : And that the Ordinary Successors of the Apostles immediately, and into the whole Office, both of Teaching and Governing, are properly the Bishops, the Presbyters succeeding them also, but in part, and into the Office of Teaching onely, and that mediately and subordinately to the Bishops, by whom they are to be ordained, and authorised thereunto, which his Majesty taketh not to be, as you call it, a dissolving of the Apostolical Office.

Now the ground of what his Majesty hath said concerning the manner of Succession to the Apostles, that it may appear not to have been said *gratis*, is this, The things which the Scriptures record to have been done by Christ, or his Apostles, or by others at their appointment, are of three sorts, some acts of power meerly extraordinary; others acts of an ordinary power, but of necessary and perpetual use: othersome lastly, and those not a few, Occasional and Prudential, fitted to the present condition of the Church in several times: To the Apostles in matters of the first sort none pretends succession, nor are either the Examples of what the Apostles themselves did, or the directions that they gave to others what they should do in matters of the third sort, to be drawn into consequence so far as to be made necessary Rules, binding all succeeding Church-officers in all Times to perpetual observation. So that there remain the things of the middle sort onely, which we may call Substantials, into which the Apostles are to have ordinary and standing successors. But then the difference will be, by what certain marks, Extraordinaries, Substantials and Prudentials may be known, and distinguished each from other. Evident it is, the Scriptures do

do not afford any particular discriminating Characters whereby to discern them, the acts of all the three sorts being related in the like narrative forms, and the directions of all the three sorts expressed in the like preceptive forms. Recourse therefore must of necessity be had to those two more general Criterians [the Laws of all humane actions] Reason and Common Usage. Our own Reason will tell us, that instructing the people of God in the Christian Faith, exhorting them to Piety, and good Works, administering the Sacraments, &c. which belong to the Office of teaching: That ordaining of Ministers, Inspection over their lives, and Doctrines, and other Administrations of Ecclesiastical affairs belonging to the Office of Governing, are matters of great importance, and necessary concernment to the Churches in all Ages & Times: and therefore were to be concredited to standing Officers in a Line of Succession, and accordingly were judged, and the continuance of them preserved in the constant usage of the Churches of Christ: But that on the other side the decrees concerning Abstinence from Blood, and strangled, *Acts* the 15. The directions given for the ordering some things in the Church Assemblies, *1 Cor.* 14. For making provisions for the poor, *1 Cor.* 16 1. For the choice and maintenance of Widows, *1 Tim.* 5. For the enoyling of the sick, *James* 5. 14. and other like, were but occasional, prudential, and temporary, and were so esteemed by the Churches, and the practise of them accordingly laid aside. So for the succession into the Apostolical Office, we find in the Scriptures evidence clear enough, that the Apostles committed to others, as namely to *Timothy* and *Titus*, the power both of teaching and governing the Churches. And common Reason, and Prudence dictating to us, that it is good for the edifying of the Church, that there should be many Teachers within a competent precinct, but not so that there should be many Governours. And the difference of Bishops and

and Presbyters to the purposes aforesaid, having been by continual usage received, and preserved in the Christian Church, down from the Apostles to the present times; his Majesty conceiveth the succession of Bishops to the Apostles, into so much of their Office as was ordinary, and perpetual; and such a distinction of Bishops and Presbyters as his Majesty hath formerly expressed, needeth no further confirmation from Scripture (to such as are willing to make use of their Reason also, which in interpreting Scripture upon all other occasions they are enforced to do) nor any thing by you produced in this Paragraph, any further answer; onely that distinction of Eminently & Formally, because you illustrate it by instancing in Himself, his Majesty could not but take notice of, which he either understandeth not, or thinketh your illustration thereof not to be very apposite: For Actions and Operations flow from the Forms of things, and demonstrate the same as effects do their causes. The Apostles therefore acting in the ordinary exercise of Church Government, did act not Eminently onely, but Formally also, as Bishops rather than Apostles.

As concerning Timothy and Titus.

7. Reply. Sect. 10. 15. First, whether there were Evangelists or no, his Majesty never meant to dispute. Onely, because you often call for Scripture proof, his Majesty thought fit to admonish you, that in your Answer you take two things for granted (*viz.* that *Timothy* and *Titus* were Evangelists, and that Evangelists were such Officers as you described) Neither of which if it should be denyed, you could clearly prove from Scripture alone, without calling in the help of other Writers to attest it, as in your Reply you have now done *Mr. Hookers*; Neither have you indeed brought any thing in this Reply out of Scripture to prove either of both sufficient to convince him that were of a contrary minde.

Secondly

Secondly, you seem (Sect. 12.) to mistake that which was the third point in that part of his Majesties paper, which was not whether *Timothy* and *Titus* were Evangelists, or no; (concerning which, his Majesty neither did, nor doth contend) But whether in the Church government they exercised, they acted as Evangelists (as you affirm) and so onely as extraordinary Officers, or not? *Zuinglius* (having said that the name of a Bishop and Evangelist is the same thing) proveth it from 2 *Tim. 4.* and concludeth, *Constat idem fuisse officium utriusq;* Bishop and Evangelist the same Office both. *Gerrard* saith, the word Evangelist in that place is taken generally, and not in the special sense; that is to say, for a Minister of the Gospel at large (and the Context there indeed seemeth to import to more) and not for an Evangelist by peculiar Office. And *Sculetus* not onely affirmeth, That *S. Paul* appointed *Timothy* and *Titus* to *Ephesus* and *Crete*, not as Evangelists, but as Church governours; but saith further, That the Epistles written to them both do evince it, and also bringeth reasons to prove it. Upon what particular reasons *Gillespy*, &c. reject the conceit of their acting as Evangelists, his Majesty certainly knows not: But if this be one of their Arguments (as to their best remembrance from whom his Majesty had the information, it is) That if whatsoever is alledged from the Scripture to have been done by the Apostles, and by *Timothy* and *Titus*, in point of Ordination, Discipline and Government, may be eluded by this, that they acted therein as extraordinary Officers, There will be no proof at all from Scripture of any power left in any ordinary Church-Officer to the purposes aforesaid. His Majesty then recommendeth to your most sober thoughts to consider, First, how this conceit of their acting as extraordinary Ministers onely, tends to the subversion of all Ministers, as well as of the Bishops (since upon this very ground, especially the *Socinians* deny all Mission and Ordination of the Ministers in the Church)

Church.) And secondly, if the contrary be proved by *Gillespy*, &c. by good Arguments, That they acted as ordinary Officers in the Church, then, Whether they have not thereby laid a better foundation for the claim of Bishops, viz. of governing the Churches as single persons in ordinary Office) then either they or you are willing to acknowledge.

Thirdly, his Majesty thinketh it a great liberty which you take in rendring the sense of his Reply, as you have done, viz. *'The Scriptures never call them Bishops, but the Fathers do: whereas if you had followed his sense in that paper, you might rather have delivered thus, The Scripture describeth them as Bishops, and the Fathers call them so. For that of yours, 'The Scripture calls Timothy an Evangelist; some of late have refuted it, and rejected it with scorn: You should have said rather, The Scripture doth not any where affirm of Titus, nor clearly prove of Timothy, that they were (by peculiar Office) Evangelists; but that in governing the Churches they acted as Evangelists, or extraordinary Officers, is by sundry late Writers (the evasion it self having been out of late minted) refuted, and rejected. For that of yours, 'The Scripture relates their motion from Church to Church, but some affirm them to be fix'd at Ephesus and in Crete: It should have been, Neither doth their motion from Church to Church hinder, but that they might afterwards be fix'd at Ephesus and in Crete: Neither doth their being Bishops at Ephesus and Crete hinder, but they might afterwards, for propogation of the Gospel, be by the Apostles appointment often imployed other where. For that of yours, 'The Scripture makes distinction of Evangelists and Pastors, but some say that Timothy and Titus were both: It should have been, The Scripture maketh no such distinction of Evangelists and Pastors, but that the same persons might not only successively be both, but even at the same time also be called by both Names.*

Fourthly,

Fourthly, though you say, *You do not undervalue the Testimonies and Catalogues mentioned*, yet you endeavour (which cometh not far short of undervaluing) to lessen the reputation of both but too much; Of those Testimonies, by putting them off, as if when they report *Timothy* and *Titus* and others to have been Bishops, they speak but vulgarly, or by way of allusion, and not exactly as to the point in Debate. But of *Hierom*, upon whom you chiefly relye in this Cause, the contrary is evident, who in this Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers, wherein he was to deliver things *Fide Historica*, and to describe the persons of such as are Registred in that Catalogue by their proper and known distinctive Titles and Stiles, he expressly stileth *Timothy*, *Titus*, *Mark*, *Policarp*, and others, Bishops of such and such places; and such on the other-side as were but neer Presbyters, *Ecclesia Antiochena*, or *Alexandrina Presbyter*, &c. observing the difference so constantly & exactly throughout the whole Book, that nothing can be more clear, then that he understood the word *Episcopus* no otherwise, then in the ordinary Ecclesiastical sense, and as a Bishop is distinct from a Presbyter. As for that passage you alledge out of him, by custom in the judgement of learned men, he must mean the practice of the Apostolick times; and by *Dominica dispositio*, the expresse precept of Christ, unlesse you will have him contradict what himself hath written in sundry other places; Whose Testimonies in the behalf of Episcopal Superiority, are so clear and frequent in his writings, that (although he of all the Ancients be least suspected to favour that Function over-much) yet the Bishops would not refuse to make him *Arbitrator* in the whole Business: As for the Catalogues, there will be more convenient place to speak of them afterwards.

Fifthly, your long Discourse concerning the several stations and removes of *Timothy* and *Titus* (13. 14.) and their being called away from *Ephesus* and *Crete* (15.)

(15.) His Majesty neither hath time to examine, nor thinketh it much needful (in respect of what he hath said already) so to do. It is sufficient to make his Majesty at least suspend his assent to your conjectures and inferences: First, that he findeth other learned men, from the like conjectures to have made other inferences; as namely, that *Timothy* and *Titus* having accompanied *Paul* in many journeys, *Postea & tandem*, were by him constituted Bishops of *Ephesus* & *Crete*. Secondly, that supposing they were, after the times of the several Epistles written to them, sent by the Apostles to other places, or did accompany them in some of their journeys, even for a long time together, it cannot be concluded thence, that they were not then Bishops of those Churches, or that the Government of those Churches was not committed to their peculiar charge: If it bee supposed withal (which is most reasonable) that their absence was commanded by the Apostle, and that they left their Churches *cum animis revertendi*. Thirdly, that the places which you presse again of 1 *Tim.* 1. 3. and *Titus* 1. 5. weigh so little to the purpose intended by you, even in your own judgements (for you say onely, *They put fair to prove it*) that you cannot expect they should weigh so much in his, as to need any further Answer; save onely, that his Majesty knoweth not what great need or use there should be of leaving *Timothy* at *Ephesus*, or *Titus* in *Crete*, for ordaining Presbyters and Deacons, with such particular directions and admonitions to them for their care therein, if they were not sent thither as Bishops: For either there were Colledges of Presbyters in those places before their coming thither, or there were not; if there were, and that such Colledges had power to ordain Presbyters and Deacons without a Bishop; Then was there little need of sending *Timothy* and *Titus* so solemnly thither about the work; if there were none, then had *Timothy* and *Titus* power

of sole ordination, which is a thing by you very much disliked. Those inconveniences his Majesty thinketh it will be hard wholly to avoid upon your principles.

That Discourse you conclude with this Observation, *That in the same very Epistle to Timothy, out of which he is endeavoured to be proved a Bishop, there is clear evidence both for Presbyters imposing hands in Ordination, and for their Ruling*: Yet his Majesty presumeth you cannot be ignorant, that the evidence is not so clear in either particular, but that in the former very many of the Latine Fathers especially, and sundry later Writers, as *Calvin* and others, refer the word *ἐπιθεσις* to the remoter Substantive *Grace* or *Gift*, and not to that of Imposition of hands; and so understand it as meant of the Office of Presbytery, or as we were wont to call it in English, by derivation from that Greek word of *Priesthood* in *Timothy* himself, and not of a Colledge or Company of Presbyters collectively imposing hands on him: And that the Greek Fathers, who take the word collectively, do yet understand by *ἐπιθεσις* there, a company of Apostles or Bishops who laid hands on *Timothy* in his Ordination to the Office of a Bishop (as was ordinarily done by three joyning in that Act in the Primitive and succeeding times) and not of a Colledge of meer Presbyters. And that in the latter particular, to wit, that of *Ruling*, The place whereon his Majesty conceiveth your Observation to be grounded, hath been by the Adversaries of Episcopal Government generally and mainly insisted upon, as the only clear proof for the establishing of *Ruling-Lay Elders*, which interpretation his Majesty knoweth not how far you will admit of.

As to the Angels of the Churches.

8. Reply. **H**is Majesties purpose of naming these
16.17. Angels in his first Paper, sufficiently declared in his second, required no more to be granted for

for the proving of what he intended, but these two things onely: first, that they were *persona singulares*; and then that they had a superiority in their respective Churches, as well over Presbyters as others which two being the *Periphrasis* or definition of a Bishop his Majesty conceived it would follow of it self, That they were Bishops: that the Epistles directed to them in the respective Reproofs, Precepts, Threatnings, and other the contents thereof, did concern their fellow Presbyters also, and indeed the whole Churches (which in your last you again remember) his Majesty did then and doth still believe, finding it it agreeable both to the tenor of the Epistles themselves, and to the consentient judgement of Interpreters. Onely his Majesty said, and still doth, That that kindreth not, but that the Angels to whom the Epistles were directed, were *persona singulares* still: This his Majesty illustrated by a *Similitude*, which though it do not hold in some other respects, and namely those by you observed (for his Majesty never dreamt of a four-footed *Similitude*) yet it perfectly illustrates the thing it was then intended for, as is evident enough, so that there needeth no more to be said about it.

That which you insist upon to prove the contrary from *Revel. 2. 24. But I say to you* (*quo* plurally) *and to the rest in Thyatira*, is plainly of no force, if those Copies in which the copulative conjunction is wanting, be true; for then the reading would be this, *But I say to you the rest in Thyatira*: But following the ordinary Copies, the difficulty is not great, such manner of Apostrophies by changing the number, or turning the speech to another person, being very usual both in prophetick Writings, such as this Book of *Revelation* is, and in Epistles of this nature written to one, but with reference to many others therein concerned. *Beza* expoundeth it, *univ. to you*, (that is, the Angel as President, and his colleagues the other Presbyters)

and to the rest, that is, to the whole flock or people; which manner of speaking might be illustrated by the like forms of speech to be used in a Letter written to a Corporation, wherein the Major and Aldermen especially, but yet the whole Town generally were concerned, but directed to the Major alone; or from a Lord, containing some Orders for his own household especially, and generally for the whole Township, but by the Inscription directed to his Steward onely, or the like.

The consent of ancient and later Writers was produced by his Majesty for the proof of the two things before named onely, but especially of the first, viz. That the Angels were *persona singulares*: (For the latter, viz. That they were superiour to Presbyters also, had been confessed by your selves in your first grant before) but was not produced to prove the conclusion it self immediately, viz. That they were Bishops in distinct sense, although sundry of their Testimonies come up even to that also. But to the first point, That they were single persons, the concurrence is so general, that his Majesty remembreth not to have heard of any one single Interpreter, before Brightman, that ever expounded them otherwise. And yet the same man (as his Majesty is informed) in his whole Commentary upon the *Revelation*, doth scarce, if at all, any where else, save in these Seven Epistles, expound the word *Angel* collectively, but still of one single person or other, insomuch as he maketh one Angel to be Gregory the Great, another Queen Elizabeth, another Crammer, another Chemnitzius, and the like: but generally both the Fathers and Protestant Divines agree in this, That the Angel was a single person, some affirming plainly, and that *interminis*, he was the Bishop; some naming the very persons of some of them, as of Polycarp Bishop of Smyrna, and others, some calling him the chief Pastor or Superintendent of that Church; and those that speak
least

least, and were more or lesse disaffected to Bishops, as Beza, Doctor Reynolds, the Geneva Note, and even Cartwright himself, the *apostolice* President or chief among the Presbyters. And this they do sundry of them, not crudely delivering their Opinions onely, and then no more, but they give Reasons for it, and after examination of the severall Opinions, prefer this before the rest, affirming, That *Doctissimi quique interpretes*; all the best learned Interpreters so understand it, and that they cannot understand it otherwise *Vinnist facere Textui velint*, unlesse they will offer violence to the Text.

That which his Majesty said concerning the Subdivision of those that had divided themselves from the common judgement of this Church, was meant by his Majesty, as to the Subdivision in respect of this particular of the Angels, wherein they differ one from another, and not as to the division in respect of their dislike of Bishops, wherein they all agree: And truly his Majesty doth not yet see, how either their differences can be possibly reconciled in the former (no accommodation in the world being able to make all the people of the whole Church, nor yet a Colledge consisting of many Presbyters, to bee one single person) or their recess wholly excused in the latter, their dissenting from the common and received judgement, practise of the Christian Church, in the matter of Episcopacy, and the evil consequents thereof, having in his Majesties opinion, brought a greater reproach upon the Protestant Religion, and given more advantage (or colour at least) to the Romish party, to asperse the Reformed Churches in such sort as we see they do, then their disagreement from the Church of Rome in any one controverted point whatsoever besides hath done.

As to the Apostles Successours.

9. Reply, **H**ere little is said, the substance whereof 17, 18. Hath not been answered before; His Majesty therefore briefly declares his meaning herein, That the Apostles were to have no necessary Successours in any thing that was extraordinary, either in their Mission or Unction; that his Majesty spake not of Succession into abilities otherwise then by instance, mentioning other particulars withal; which thing he thinketh needeth not to have been now the third time by you mentioned; That in the Apostles Mission or Commission (for his Majesty under the name of Mission comprehendeth both) and consequently in the Apostolical Office, as there was something extraordinary, so there was something ordinary, wherein they were to have Successours; That Bishops are properly their Successours in the whole Apostolical Office, so far as it was ordinary, and to have Successours; That therefore the Bishops Office may be in regard of that succession, be said to be Apostolical; That yet it doth not follow that they must needs be called Apostles, taking the denomination from the Office, in as much as the denomination of the Apostles, peculiarly so called, was not given them from the Office wherunto they were sent, but (as the word itself rather importeth) from the immediatenesse of their Mission, being sent immediately by Christ himself; in respect whereof for distinction sake, and in honour to their persons, it was thought fitter by those that succeeded in common usage, to abstain from that Denomination, and to be stiled rather by the name of Bishops; That if the Apostles had no Successours, the Presbyters (who are their Successours in part, immediately and subordinately to the Bishops) will be very hard set to prove the warrant of their own Office and Mission; which if not derived from the Apostles (who onely received power of Mission from Christ)

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by a continued line of Succession, his Majesty seek not upon what other bottom it can stand.

As to the standing Officers of the Church.

10 Reply, **Y**OU insisted upon two places of Scripture, *Phil. 1.1.* and *1 Tim. 3.* to prove that there were to be no more standing Officers in the Church, then the two in those places mentioned, (*viz.*) Presbyters (who are there called Bishops) and Deacons; whereunto his Majesties answer was, *That there might be other though not mentioned in those places: which Answer, though it were alone sufficient, yet ex abundanti, his Majesty shewed withal, that supposing your interpretation of the word Bishop in both the places (viz. to denote the Office of Presbyter onely) there might yet be given some probable conjectures, which (likewise supposed true) might satisfie us, why that of Bishop in the distinct sense, should not be needful or proper to be named in those places.*

His Majesties former Reason, though in *Hypothesis*, and as applyed to the Church of *Philippi*, it be but conjectural, yet upon the credit of all Ecclesiastical Histories and consideration of the condition of those times, as it is set forth in the Scriptures also, it will appear in *Thesi*, to be undoubtedly true (*viz.*) That the Apostles themselves first planted Churches; that they were perpetual Governours, and in chief of all the Churches whilest they lived; that as the burthen grew greater by the propagation of the Gospel, they assumed others in *partem cura*, committing to their charge the peculiar oversight of the Churches in some principal Cities, and the Towns and Villages adjacent, as *James* at *Jerusalem*, and others in other places sooner or later, as they saw it expedient for the service of the Church: That the persons so by them appointed, to such peculiar charges, did exercise the powers of Ordination, and other Government, under the Apostles, and are therefore in the Church-stories called Bishops of those places in a distinct sense;

That in some places where the Apostles were themselves more frequently conyerfant, they did for some while govern the Churches immediately by themselves, before they set Bishops there; and that after the Apostles times, Bishops onely were the ordinary Governours of the Churches of Christ: And his Majesty believeth it cannot be proved either from clear evidence of Scripture, or credible testimonies of Antiquity, that ever any Presbyter or Presbytery exercised the power either of Ordination at all without a Bishop, or of that which they call Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction in ordinary, and by their own sole authority, or otherwise, then as it was delegated unto them upon occasion, and for the time by Apostles and Bishops.

For that place of *Phil. 1. 1.* in particular, his Majesties purpose being, not to interpret the place (a work fitter for Divines) but to manifest the inconsequence of the Argument, whereby you would conclude but two standing Officers only, because but two there named, gave this as one probable conjecture why there might be no Bishops in distinct sense there mentioned, because possibly the Apostles had not as yet set any Bishops over that Church, which his Majesty did not propose as the onely, no, nor yet as the most probable conjecture (for which cause He delivered it so cautiously, saying onely, It might be probable) but as that which for the present came first into his thoughts, and was sufficient for his purpose, without the least meaning thereby to prejudice other interpretations; as namely, of those Expositors who take the words (with the Bishop and Deacons) as belonging to the persons saluting, and not to the persons saluted; to this sence *Paul* and *Timotheus* the servants of Jesus Christ, with the Bishops and Deacons to the Saints at *Philippi*, &c. or of those who affirm, and that with great probability too, That *Epafras* was then actually Bishop of *Philippi*, but not

to be mentioned in the Inscription of the Epistle, because he was not then at *Philippi*, but with *S. Paul* at *Rome* when that Epistle was written: Any of which conjectures, if they be true (as there is none of them utterly improbable) that place of *Phil. i. i.* will not do you much service in this Question.

In the Epistles to *Timothy* and *Titus*, the Apostle directeth and admonisheth them as Bishops, particularly concerning Ordination of Ministers, that they do it advisedly, and Ordain none but such as are meetly qualified for the service of the Church; which Directions, and Admonitions his Majesty believeth for the substance to belong to all Bishops of after times, aswell as unto them: But his Majesty seeth no necessity why in those Epistles there should be any particular Directions given concerning the Ordination of Bishops, at least unlesse it could be made appear, That they were to Ordain some such in those places, nor pchaps if that could be made to appear, in as much as in those Epistles there is not the least signification of any difference at all between Presbyters and Deacons in the manner of their Ordination, both being to be performed by the Bishop, and by Imposition of hands, and to both comprehended under that general Rule (*Lay hands suddenly on no man*) but onely, and that very little, and scarce considerable (as to the making of distinct Offices) in the qualification of their persons.

The Ordination therefore of Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons, being to be performed in the same manner, and the same qualifications after a sort, saving such differences as the importance of their several Offices make (which is more in the degree then in the things) being required in both, it had been sufficient if in those Epistles there had been direction given concerning the Ordination and Qualification of but one sort of Church Officers onely; as in the Epistle

to *Titus*, we see there are of Presbyters onely, and no mention made of Deacons in the whole Epistle: whence it may be as well concluded, That there was to be no other standing Officer in the Church of *Crete*, but Presbyters onely, because *S. Paul* giveth no directions to *Titus* concerning any other, as it can be concluded; That there were to be no other Officers in the Church of *Ephesus*, but Presbyters and Deacons onely, because *S. Paul* giveth no directions to *Timothy* concerning any other.

As to the Ages succeeding the Apostles.

II. Reply, **C**ONCERNING the judgement of Ecclesiastical Writers about the Divine Right of Episcopacy, his Majesty conceiveth the difference to be more in their Expressions then in their Meaning, some calling it *Divine*, others *Apostolical*, and some (but not many) *Ecclesiastical*; but that the Superiority of Bishops above Presbyters began in the Apostles times, and had its foundation in the Institution either of Christ himself or of his Apostles, his Majesty hath not heard (*Aerius* excepted) that any till these latter Ages have denied.

For that which you touch upon concerning the word *Infalible*, his Majesty supposeth you knew his meaning, and he delighteth not to contend about words.

As for the Catalogues, some uncertainties in a few (a frailty which all humane Histories are subject to) his Majesty taketh to be insufficient to discredit all differences there are in Historiographers in assigning the Succession of the *Babylonian*, *Persian*, and *Maccedonian* Kings, and of the *Saxon* Kings in *England*. And we finde far more inextricable intricacies in the *East* Consulates, the Catalogues of the *Roman* Consuls (notwithstanding their great care in keeping the publick Records, and the exactnesse of the *Roman* Histories) then are to be found in Episcopal Catalogues, those especially of the chiefest Cities, as *Jerusalem*, *Rome*, *Antioch*,

Antioch, Alexandria, Ephesus, &c. yet as all men believe there were Kings in those Countries, and Consuls in ~~Rome~~ in those times, so (as you might well foresee would be answered) the discrediting of the Catalogues of Bishops, in respect of some uncertainties (although his Majesty doubteth not, but many of the differences you instance in, may be fairly reconciled) tendeth rather to the confirming of the thing it self.

That which you say in answer hereunto, That the Ecclesiastical Writers called them Bishops, in compliance to the Language of their own times; after the names of Presbyters and Bishops were distinguished, but that they were not indeed Bishops in the proper sense now in Question: his Majesty who believeth the distinction of those names, to have begun presently after the Apostles times (if not rather whilest some of them were living) doth consequently believe, that as they were called, so they were indeed Bishops in that proper sense. It appeareth by *Ignatius* his Epistles every where, how wide the difference was in his time between a Bishop and a meer Presbyter: If *Hierom* onely, and some a little ancienter then he, had applyed the name Bishop to persons that lived some Ages before them, there might have been the more colour to have attributed it to such a compliance as you speak of; but that they received both the name and the truth of their relations from unquestionable Testimonies and Records, his Majesty thinketh it may be made good by many instances: For example, to instance in one onely, *Polycarp* Bishop of *Smyrna*, who is thought to be the Angel of that Church in the *Revelation*; *Ignatius*, who was contemplatory with him, wrote one Epistle to him, and sends salutation to him in another as Bishop of *Smyrna*; Many years after *Irenaeus* Bishop of *Lyons* in *France*, (whose writings were never yet called in question by any) not onely affirms him to have been
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constituted Bishop of *Smyrna* by the Apostles, but saith, That he himself when he was a Boy, had seen him a very old Man; *Tertullian* next, a very able Writer, affirmeth, That he was Bishop of *Smyrna*, there placed by *S. John*. After cometh *Eusebius*, who in his Ecclesiastical History, not onely historically reporteth of his being Bishop there, as he doth of other Bishops; but citeth also for it the Testimonies both of *Ignatius* and *Irenaeus* (which by the way giveth good credit to *Ignatius* his Epistles too.) Then *Hierom* also and others lastly attest the same. And it cannot be doubted, but *Eusebius* and *Hierom* had in their times the like certain Testimonies and Grounds for sundry others, whom they report to have been Bishops; which Testimonies and Records are not all come to our hands.

For the Testimonies of *Clemens* and *Ignatius*, His Majesty saith; First, That though it be not reasonable that the Testimony of one single Epistle should be so made the adequate measure of *Clemens* his Opinion, as to exclude all other proofs from his Example, or otherwise; yet his Majesty, since *Clemens* was first named by you, and the weight of the main Cause lieth not much upon it, is content also for that matter to refer himself to that Epistle. Secondly, That his Majesty could not but use some earnestness of expression in the cause of *Ignatius* against some who have rejected the whole Volume of his Epistles, but upon such Arguments as have more lessened the reputation of their own Learning, then the Authority of those Epistles, in the opinion of moderate and judicious men: And yet *Blendellus*, a very learned man, though he rejected those Epistles, confesseth notwithstanding the ancient Fathers gave full credence thereto.

The Apostles, you say, did not ordain themselves Bishops of any particular places; and yet the Bishops of some particular places are reported in the Catalogues to have been

been Successors to such or such of the Apostles, and even the Names of such Apostles are entred into the Catalogues: To this his Majesty saith, That the Apostles were formerly Bishops by vertue of their Mission from Christ, as hath been already declared, but did neither ordain themselves, nor could be ordained by others, Bishops of such or such particular Cities: Although his Majesty knoweth not, but that they might, without prejudice to their Apostleship, and by mutual consent, make choice of their several quarters wherein to exercise that Function, as well as Saint Peter and Saint Paul by consent went the one to the Circumcision, the other to the Gentiles: But such apportionments did not entitle them to be properly called Bishops of those places, unlesse any of them by such Argument did fixedly reside in some City; of which there is not in the History of the Church any clear unquestionable Example: If James the Lords Brother (who was certainly Bishop of Jerusalem) were not one of the Twelve Apostles, as the more general opinion is that he was not; yet did the Churches of succeeding times, for the greater honour of their Seely and the memory of so great Benefactors, enter the head of the Lists or Catalogues of their Bishops, the Names of such of the Apostles as had either first planted the Faith, or placed Bishops, or made any long abode and continuance, or ended their dayes among them: yet doth not the true Title of being Successors to the Apostles thereby accrew to the Bishops of those places, more then to other Bishops; but all Bishops are equally Successors to the Apostles in two other respects: The one, for that they derive their Ordination by a continual Line of Succession from the Apostles: The other, for that they succeed into the same Apostolical power and Function, which the Apostles as ordinary Pastors had.

Your

Your motion to reduce this whole Dispute to Scripture alone, were the more reasonable, if the matter in question were properly a point of Faith: And yet even in points of Faith (as the Doctrine of the Trinity, the Canon of Scripture, and sundry other) the uniform judgement of the Church hath been ever held of very considerable regard; but being a matter of Fact, as before was said, which the Scriptures do not deliver entirely and perspicuously in any one place together, but obscurely, and by parts; so that the understanding thereof dependeth chiefly upon conjectural Interpretations, and uncertain probabilities, nor assure any certain distinguishing Characters, whereby to discern what therein is extraordinary, what prudential, and what of necessary and perpetual Obligation, there seemeth to his Majesty to be a necessity of admitting the subsequent judgement and practice of the Christian Churches into the Tryal.

As to the three Questions proposed by his Majesty.

12. Reply, **H**is Majesty resteth very much unsatisfied, 29, &c. **H**ed, That you have now again wholly declined the answering of those three Questions so clearly proposed by him, which your selves also confesse to be of great importance, upon this onely pretence, *That the whole volume of Ecclesiastical Policy is contained in them:* Whereas his Majesty did neither expect nor require from you any large or Polemical Discourse concerning those Questions; but yet did conceive you were (in order to his satisfaction and your own undertaking) in some sort obliged to have declared in few words what your judgement was therein; with the grounds thereof, that so his Majesty might have taken the same into his further consideration, then which nothing could have more conduced to the enforming of his judgement, and the satisfaction of his Conscience; which his Majesty also further conceives you might have done, with the tenth

part of that pains you have hitherto bestowed to other purpose, and therein have given full as much satisfaction to his desires, as he expected, and in all likelihood better satisfaction to his judgement then hee yet findeth, or can hope to finde from you, so long as you hold off from declaring your opinions concerning those Questions: For certainly, until one of these three things can be clearly evidenced unto his Majesty (*viz.*) Either that there is no certain form of Church government at all prescribed in the Word, or if there be, that the Civil power may change the same as they see cause; or if it be unchangeable, that it was not Episcopal, but some other, his Majesty thinks himself excusable in the judgement of all reasonable men, if he cannot as yet be induced to give his consent to the utter abolition of that Government in the Church, which he found here settled to his hands, which hath continued all over the Christian World, from the times of the Apostles, until this last Age, and in this Realm ever since the first plantation of Christianity, as well since the Reformation as before, which hath been confirmed by so many Acts of Parliament, approved as consonant to the holy Word of God, in the Articles of our Religion, and by all the Ministers of the Church of England, as well by their personal subscriptions, as otherwise, so attested and declared, and which himself in his judgement and conscience, hath for these many years been, and yet is perswaded to be at least of Apostolical Institution and practice: Truly, his Majesty cannot but wonder what should be the reason of your great firmnesse and unwillingnesse to discover your mindes in that matter of so great and necessary consequence: and for a final conclusion of this whole dispute (which his Majesty thinketh fit to shut up with this paper) he must plainly tell you, That your endeavours to have given him satisfaction in the Questions proposed, would have added much in his opinion to the reputation

tion of their ingenuity in the whole undertaking; it being not probable you should work much upon his judgement, whilst you are fearful to declare your own, nor possible to relieve his Conscience, but by a free declaring of yours.

Nevertheless, his Majesty liketh well of your prayer in the close of your paper, and thinketh you should do very well to joyn therewith your utmost possible endeavours towards the settling of Truth, and a happy peace in this unsettled Church and Kingdom.

**HIS MAJESTIES Quære concerning
EASTER, propounded to the Par-
liaments Commissioners at Holm-
by, April 23. 1647.**

I desire to be resolved of this Question, *Why the new
Reformers discharge the keeping of EASTER.*

The Reason for this Quære is,

I Conceive the Celebration of this Feast was instituted by the same authority, which changed the Jewish Sabbath into the Lords Day or Sunday, for it will not be found in Scripture where Saturday is discharged to be kept, or turned into the Sunday; wherefore it must be the Churches authority that changed the one and instituted the other; Therefore My opinion is, that those who will not keep this Feast, may as well return to the observation of Saturday and refuse the weekly Sunday; when any body can shew Me that herein I am in an error, I shall not be ashamed to confesse and amend it. Tell when you know My mind.

C. Rex.

Diverse



Diverse of His MAJESTIES Prayers : Whereof the three last, used by Him in the time of His Restraint, were delivered to the Bishop of *London* at His Death; From whom they were taken away by the Officers of the Army.

A Prayer used by His Majesty, at his entrance in state into the Cathedral Church of Exeter, after he had defeated the Earl of Essex his Forces in Cornwall.

O Most glorious Lord God, Father, Son, and holy Ghost, I here humbly adore Thy most Sacred Majesty; and I blesse and magnifie thy Name, for that thou hast been pleased so often, and so strangely to deliver Me from the strivings of My people, Father forgive them who have thus risen up against Me, and do thou yet turn their hearts both unto Thee and to Me; that I being firmly established in the Throne Thou hast placed Me on, I may defend Thy Church committed to My care, and keep all this Thine and My people in Truth and Peace, through Jesus Christ our Lord, Amen.

2.

A prayer drawn by His Majesties special direction and Dictates, for a blessing on the Treaty at Vxbridge.

O Most merciful Father, Lord God of peace and Truth, we a people sorely afflicted by the scourge of an unnatural War, do here earnestly beseech Thee, to command a blessing from Heaven upon this present Treaty, begun for the establishment of a happy peace. Soften the most obdurate hearts with a true Christian desire of saving those mens blood, for whom Christ himself hath shed his. Or if the guilt of our great sins, cause this Treaty to break off in vain, Lord let the Truth clearly appear, who those men are, which under pretence of the publick good, do pursue their own private ends; that this people may be no longer so blindly miserable, as not to see, at least in this their Day, the things that belong unto their peace. Grant this gracious God, for his sake who is our peace it self, even Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

3.

A Prayer drawn by His Majesties special directions, for a blessing on the Treaty at Newport in the Isle of Wight.

O Most merciful Father, Lord God of peace and Truth, we a people sorely afflicted by the scourge of an unnatural War, do here earnestly beseech thee to command a blessing from Heaven upon this Treaty brought about by thy providence, and the onely visible remedy left for the establishment of
an

an happy peace. Soften the most obdurate hearts, with a true Christian desire of saving those mens blood, for whom Christ himself hath shed his. O Lord let not the guilt of our sins cause this Treaty to break off, but let the truth of thy Spirit so clearly shine in our mindes, that all private ends laid aside, we may every one of us heartily and sincerely pursue the publick good, and that thy people may be no longer so blindly miserable, as not to see at least in this their day the things that belong unto their peace. Grant this gracious God for his sake who is our peace it self, even Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

4.

A Prayer for pardon of sin, &c.

Almighty and most merciful Father, look down upon Me Thy unworthy servant, who here prostrate My Self at the Foot-stool of Thy Throne of Grace; but look upon Me, O Father, through the Mediation, and in the Merits of Jesus Christ, in whom Thou art onely well-pleased; for, of My self I am not worthy to stand before thee, or to speak with My unclean lips to Thee, most holy and eternal God! For as in sin I was conceived and born, so likewise I have broken all thy Commandments by My sinful motions, unclean thoughts, evil words, and wicked works, omitting many Duties I ought to do, and committing many Vices which Thou hast forbidden, under pain of thy heavy displeasure: As for My sins, O Lord, they are innumerable; wherefore I stand here liable to all the miseries in this life, and everlasting torments in that to come, if thou shouldst deal with Me according to My deserts. I confesse, O Lord, that it is Thy mercy (which endureth for ever) and Thy compassion (which never fails) which is the cause that I have not been long ago consumed: But
with

with Thee there is mercy and plenteous Redemption; in the multitude therefore of Thy Mercies, and by the Merits of Jesus Christ, I intreat Thy Divine Majesty, that thou wouldst not enter into judgement with Thy Servant; nor be extream to mark what is done amiss, but be Thou merciful unto Me, and wash away all My sins with that precious blood that My Saviour shed for Me. And I beseech Thee, O Lord, not only to wash away all My sins, but also to purge My heart by Thy holy Spirit, from the dross of My natural corruption. And as thou dost adde days to My life, so good Lord, I beseech Thee, to adde repentance to My days, that when I have past this mortal life, I may be partaker of Thy everlasting kingdom, through the merits of Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

A Prayer and Confession in and for the times of Affliction.

Almighty and most merciful Father, as it is only Thy goodness that admits of Our imperfect prayers, and the knowledge that Thy Mercies are infinite, which can give Us any hope of Thy accepting or granting them; so it is our bounden and necessary Duty to confesse our sins freely unto Thee; and of all men living I have most need, most reason so to do, no Man having bin so much obliged by thee, no Man more grievously offending Thee: That degree of knowledge which Thou hast given Me, adding likewise the guilt of My transgressions. For was it through ignorance, that I suffered innocent blood to be shed by a false pretended way of Justice? Or that I permitted a wrong way of Thy Worship to be set up in Scotland, and injured the Bishops in England? O no; but with shame and grief I confesse, that I therein followed the persuasions of worldly wisdom, forsaking the Dictates of a right informed Conscience: Where-

Wherefore, O Lord, I have no excuse to make, no hope left, but in the multitude of Thy Mercies, for I know My repentance weak, and My prayers faulty: Grant therefore, merciful Father, so to strengthen My repentance & amend My prayers, that Thou mayest clear the way for Thine own Mercies; to which, O let Thy Justice at last give place, putting a speedy end to My deserved afflictions. In the mean time give Me patience to endure, Constancy against Temptations, and a discerning spirit to chuse what is best for Thy Church and people, which Thou hast committed to My charge. Grant this, O most merciful Father, for Thy Son Jesus Christ's sake, our onely Saviour. Amen.

A Prayer in time of imminent Danger.

O Most merciful Father, though My sins are so many & grievous, that I may rather expect the effects of Thy anger, then so great a deliverance, as to free Me from My present great danger; yet, O Lord, since Thy Mercies are over all Thy works, and Thou never failest to relieve all those who with humble and unfained repentance come to Thee for succor, it were to multiply, not diminish My transgressions, to despair of thy heavenly favour: wherefore I humbly desire thy Divine Majesty, that thou wilt not only pardon all My sins, but also free Me out of the hands, & protect Me from the malice of My cruel enemies. But if thy wrath against My hainous offences, will not otherways be satisfied, then by suffering Me to fall under My present afflictions, thy wil be done; yet, with humble importunity, I do, & shall never leave to implore the assistance of thy heavenly Spirit, that My cause, as I am thy Vicegerent, may not suffer through My weakness or want of courage. O Lord, so strengthen and enlighten all the faculties

faculties of My Mind, that with clearnesse I may shew forth Thy Truth, and manfully endure this bloody Trial; that so My sufferings here may not onely glorifie Thee; but likewise be a furtherance to My salvation hereafter. Grant this, O merciful Father, for his sake who suffered for Me, even Jesus Christ the Righteous. Amen.



Several things relating to His MAJESTIES Death.

I.

Three Quæries propounded by His Majesty, when the Armes Remonstrance was read unto Him, at Newport, concerning the intended tryal of His Majesty.

1. **W**Hether this Remonstrance be agreeable to the former Declarations of the Army? and if not, whether the Parliament would make good their Votes, that after he had consented to what they desired, he should be in a capacity of Honour, Freedom, and Safety.

2. Whether His acknowledgement of the guilt of the blood that hath been spilt in the late Wars (nothing being as yet absolutely concluded or binding) could be urged so far, as to be made use of by way of evidence against him, or any of his Party.

3. Whether the Arguments that he hath used in a free and personal Treaty, to lessen or extenuate, and avoid the exactnesse of any of the Conditions, though

in manner and form onely, might be charged against him as an act of Obstinacy, or wilful perſiſtance in what is alledged againſt him, in that he goes on in a deſtructive courſe of enmity againſt the people, and the Laws of the Land, when he hath declared, that his Conſcience was not ſatisfied, concerning divers particulars in the Propoſitions.

4. Whereas by the Letter of the Law all perſons charged to offend againſt the Law, ought to be tried by their Peers or equals, what the Law is if the perſon queſtioned is without a Peer, and if the Law (which of it ſelf is but a dead Letter) ſeems to condemn him, by what power ſhall judgement be given, and who ſhall give it? or from whence ſhall the adminiſtrators of ſuch judgement derive their power, which may (by the ſame Law) be deemed the ſupreme power or authority of Magiſtracy in the Kingdom.

2.

His Majesties Reasons against the pretended Jurisdiction of the High Court of Injustice, which He intended to have delivered in writing on Monday, Jan. 22. 1648. but was not permitted.

HAVING already made My proteſtations not onely againſt the illegality of this pretended Court, but alſo that no Earthly power can juſtly call Me (who am your KING) in queſtion as a Delinquent. I would not any more open My mouth upon this occaſion, more then to refer My ſelf to what I have ſpoken, were I alone in this caſe alone concerned. But the duty I owe to God in the preſervation of the true liberty of My people, will not ſuffer Me at this time to be ſilent: For, how can any free-born Subject of England call Life, or any thing he poſſeſſeth, his own; if Power without Right daily make new, and abrogate the

the old fundamental Law of the Land? which I now take to be the present case. Wherefore when I came hither, I expected that you would have endeavoured to have satisfied Me concerning these grounds which hinder Me to answer to your pretended Impeachment; but since I see that nothing I can say will move you to it (though Negatives are not so naturally proved as Affirmatives) yet I will shew you the Reason why I am confident you cannot judge Me, nor indeed the meanest Man in *England*; for, I will not (like you) without shewing a reason, seek to impose a belief upon My Subjects.

* *Hereabout* * There is no proceeding just against I was stopt, any Man, but what is warranted either by Gods Laws, or the municipal Laws of the Country where he lives. Now I am most confident, that this dayes proceeding cannot be warranted by Gods Law, for on the contrary, the authority of obedience unto Kings is clearly warranted and strictly commanded both in the Old and New Testament; which if denied, I am ready instantly to prove: and for the Question now in hand, there it is said, *That where the word of a King is, there is power, and who may say unto him, what doest thou? Eccles. 8.4.* Then for the Laws of this Land, I am no lesse confident, that no learned Lawyer will affirm, that an impeachment can lye against the King, they all going in His Name; and one of their Maxims is, *That the King can do no wrong.* Besides, the Law upon which you ground your proceedings, must either be old, or new: if old, shew it; if new, tell what Authority warranted by the fundamental Laws of the Land hath made it, and when. But how the House of Commons can erect a Court of Judicature, which was never one it self (as is well known to all Lawyers) I leave to God and the World to judge: And it were full as strange that they should pretend to make Laws without King or Lords-House,

to any that have heard speak of the Lawes of England.

And admitting, but not granting, that the people of *Englands* Commission could grant your pretended power, I see nothing you can shew for that; for certainly you never asked the question of the tenth man of the Kingdom, and in this way you manifestly wrong even the poorest Ploughman, if you demand not his free consent; nor can you pretend any colour for this your pretended Commission without the consent at least of the major part of every man in *England*, of whatsoever quality or condition, which I am sure you never went about to seek; so far are you from having it. Thus you see that I speak not for My own right alone, as I am your K I N G, but also for the true liberty of all My Subjects, which consists not in sharing the power of Government, but in living under such Lawes, such a Government as may give themselves the best assurance of their lives and propriety of their goods. Nor in this must or do I forget the Priviledges of both Houses of Parliament, which this dayes proceeding doth not onely violate, but likewise occasion the greatest breach of their publick Faith that (*I believe*) ever was heard of, with which *I am* far from charging the two Houses: for all the pretended crimes laid against Me, bear date long before this late Treaty at *NEWPORT*, in which *I* having concluded as much as in Me lay, and hopefully expecting the two Houses agreement thereunto, *I* was suddenly surprized, and hurried from thence as a Prisoner, upon which *I* account *I am* against My will brought hither, where since *I am* come, *I* cannot but to My power defend the ancient Laws and Liberties of this Kingdom, together with My own just right; Then for any thing *I* can see the higher House is totally excluded. And for the House of Commons, it is too

known that the major part of them are detained or deterred from sitting, so as if I had no other, this were sufficient for Me to protest against the lawfulness of your pretended Court. Besides all this, the peace of the Kingdom is not the least in My thoughts, and what hopes of settlement is there so long as Power reigns without rule of Law, changing the whole frame of that Government under which this Kingdom hath flourished for many hundred years, (nor will I say what will fall out in case this lawlesse unjust proceeding against Me do go on) and believe it, the Commons of *England* will not thank you for this change, for they will remember how happy they have been of late years under the Reign of *Q. Elizabeth*, the King My Father, and My Self, until the beginning of these unhappy Troubles, and will have cause to doubt that they shall never be so happy under any new. And by this time it will be too sensibly evident, that the Arms I took up were onely to defend the fundamental Laws of this Kingdom, against those who have supposed My power hath totally changed the ancient Government.

Thus having shewed you briefly the Reasons, why I cannot submit to your pretended Authority without violating the trust which I have from God, for the welfare and liberry of My people; I expect from you either clear Reasons to convince My judgement, shewing Me that I am in an Errour (and then truly I will readily answer) or that you will withdraw your proceedings.

I This I intended to speak in Westminster-Hall on Monday, 22 January; but against Reason was hindered.

3.

The Names of those persons, who by a pretended Commission, from a few of the late House of Commons (acted therein by the Counsel of War) were appointed to judge their Liege Lord and Sovereign the KING.

S Erjeant Iohn Bradshaw,	Col. Henry Martin,
President.	Col. William Purefoy,
The Lord Fairfax, General	Col. Godfrey Boswil,
L. Gen. Oliver Cromwell.	Iohn Trenchard Esq;
Com. General Ireton.	Col. Harbottle Morley,
Major General Skippon.	Col. Iohn Berkestead,
Sir Hardresse Waller.	Col. Matthew Tomblinson,
Col. Valentine Walton.	Iohn Blackstone Esq;
Col. Thomas Harrison,	Gilbert Millington Esq;
Col. Edward Whalley,	Sir William Constable,
Col. Thomas Pride.	Col. Edward Ludlow,
Col. Isaac Ewer,	Col. Iohn Lambert,
Col. Richard Ingelsby,	Col. Iohn Hutchingson,
Sir Henry Mildmay,	Sir Arthur Hazlerige,
Sir Thomas Honywood,	Sir Michael Livesley,
Thomas Lord Grey,	Richard Saloway Esq;
Philip Lord Lisle,	Col. Robert Titchburn,
William Lord Munsen,	Col. Owen Roe,
Sir Iohn Danvers,	Col. Robert Manwaring,
Sir Thomas Malewexer,	Col. Robert Lilburne,
Sir Iohn Bowcher,	Col. Adrian Scroope,
Sir James Harrington,	Col. Richard Deane,
Sir William Brexeton,	Col. Iohn Okey,
Robert Wallop Esq;	Col. Robert Overton,
William Wenningham Esq;	Col. Iohn Harrison,
Isaac Pennington Alderm.	Col. Iohn Desborough,
Thomas Atkins Alderman,	Col. William Goffe,
Col. Rouland Wilson,	Col. Robert Duckenfield,
Sir Peter Wentworth,	Cornelius Holland Esq;

<i>John Carne Esq;</i>	<i>John Foulkes Alderman,</i>
<i>Sir William Armine,</i>	<i>Thomas Scot Alderman,</i>
<i>John Jones Esq;</i>	<i>Theo. Andrews Alderman,</i>
<i>Miles Corbet Esq;</i>	<i>William Cawley Esq;</i>
<i>Francis Allen Esq;</i>	<i>Abraham Burrell Esq;</i>
<i>Thomas Lister Esq;</i>	<i>Col. Anthony Stapley,</i>
<i>Ben. Weston Esq;</i>	<i>Roger Gratwick Esq;</i>
<i>Peregrin Pelham Esq;</i>	<i>John Downes Esq;</i>
<i>John Gourdown Esq;</i>	<i>Col. Thomas Horton,</i>
<i>Serjeant Francis Thorp,</i>	<i>Col. Tho. Hammond,</i>
<i>John Nut Esq;</i>	<i>Col. George Fenwick,</i>
<i>Thomas Challoner Esq;</i>	<i>Serjeant Robert Nichols,</i>
<i>Col. Alg. Sidney,</i>	<i>Robert Reynolds Esq;</i>
<i>John Anlaby Esq;</i>	<i>John Lisle Esq;</i>
<i>Col. John Moore,</i>	<i>Nicholas Love, Esq;</i>
<i>Richard Darley Esq;</i>	<i>Vincent Potter,</i>
<i>Willam Say Esq;</i>	<i>Sir Gilbert Pickering,</i>
<i>John Aldred Esq;</i>	<i>John Weaver Esq;</i>
<i>John Fagge Esq;</i>	<i>Roger Hill Esq;</i>
<i>James Nelthrop Esq;</i>	<i>John Lenthall Esq;</i>
<i>Sir Willirm Roberts,</i>	<i>Sir Edward Baynton,</i>
<i>Col. Francis Lassels,</i>	<i>Ioh. Corbet Esq;</i>
<i>Col. Alex. Kirby</i>	<i>Thomas Blunt Esq;</i>
<i>Henry Smith Esq;</i>	<i>Thomas Boone Esq;</i>
<i>Edmond Wilde Esq;</i>	<i>Aug. Garland Esq;</i>
<i>James Chaloner Esq;</i>	<i>Aug. Skinner Esq;</i>
<i>Josias Barnes Esq;</i>	<i>John Dickswell Esq;</i>
<i>Dennis Bond Esq;</i>	<i>Col. George Fleetwood,</i>
<i>Humphry Edwards Esq;</i>	<i>Simon Maine Esq;</i>
<i>Gregory Clement Esq;</i>	<i>Col. Iames Temple,</i>
<i>John Fray Esq;</i>	<i>Col. Peter Temple,</i>
<i>Thomas Wogan Esq;</i>	<i>Daniel Blaggrave Esq;</i>
<i>Sir Gregory Norton,</i>	<i>Sir Peter Temple,</i>
<i>Col. Edmond Harvey,</i>	<i>Col. Thomas Waite,</i>
<i>John Dove Esq;</i>	<i>John Browne Esq;</i>
<i>Col. John Venne,</i>	<i>John Lowrey Esq;</i>

In all 300.

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4.

The Names of those persons, who presumed at several times actually to sit as Judges upon their Sovereign Lord, whereof about 73 did passe sentence of Death upon Him, with the Names of the Councel and Officers that attended them.

S erjeant <i>John Bradshaw</i> ,	<i>Sir William Constable,</i>
President.	<i>Col. Edward Ludlow,</i>
<i>L. Gen. Oliver Cromwel.</i>	<i>Col. John Hutchingson,</i>
<i>Com. General Ireton.</i>	<i>Col. Robert Titchburn,</i>
<i>Major General Skippon.</i>	<i>Col. Owen Roe,</i>
<i>Sir Hardresse Waller.</i>	<i>Col. Adrian Scroope,</i>
<i>Col. Thomas Harrison,</i>	<i>Col. John Okey,</i>
<i>Col. Edward Whalley,</i>	<i>Col. John Harrison,</i>
<i>Col. Thomas Pride.</i>	<i>Col. John Desborough,</i>
<i>Col. Isaac Ewer,</i>	<i>Cornelius Holland Esq;</i>
<i>Col. Richard Ingolsby,</i>	<i>Miles Corbet Esq;</i>
<i>Sir Henry Mildmay,</i>	<i>Francis Allen Esq;</i>
<i>Thomas Lord Grey,</i>	<i>Peregrine Pellham Esq;</i>
<i>Philip Lord Lisle,</i>	<i>John Gourdon Esq;</i>
<i>William Lord Munson,</i>	<i>Serjeant Francis Thorp,</i>
<i>Sir John Danvers,</i>	<i>Thomas Challoner Esq;</i>
<i>Sir Thomas Maleverer,</i>	<i>Col. John Moore,</i>
<i>Sir John Bowcher,</i>	<i>John Alured Esq;</i>
<i>Sir James Harrington,</i>	<i>Col. Francis Tassells,</i>
<i>Sir William Brereton,</i>	<i>Henry Smith Esq;</i>
<i>William Henningham Esq;</i>	<i>James Chaloner Esq;</i>
<i>Isaac Pennington Alderm.</i>	<i>Dennis Bond Esq;</i>
<i>Thomas Atkins Alderman,</i>	<i>Humphrey Edwards Esq;</i>
<i>Rouland Wilson Alderman,</i>	<i>Gregory Clement Esq;</i>
<i>Sir Peter Wentworth,</i>	<i>John Fry Esq;</i>
<i>Col. Henry Martin,</i>	<i>Thomas Wogan Esq;</i>
<i>Col. William Purefoy,</i>	<i>Sir Gregory Norton,</i>
<i>Col. Godfrey Bosvil,</i>	<i>Col. Edmond Harvey,</i>
<i>Col. John Berkestead,</i>	<i>John Dove Esq;</i>

Col. John Venne,
 John Foulkes Alderman,
 Thomas Scot Alderman,
 Tho. Andrews Alderman,
 William Cawley Esq;
 Anthony Stapeley,
 John Lisle Esq;
 John Corbet Esq;
 Thomas Blunt Esq;
 Thomas Boone Esq;
 Col. George Fleetwood,
 Col. James Temple,
 Col. Thomas Waite,
 John Browne Esq;
 William Say Esq;
 Col. Matthew Tomlinson,
 John Blackeston,
 Gilbert Millington,

Abraham Barrel,
 Col. John Downes,
 Mr. Norton,
 L. Gen. Tho. Hammond,
 Nicholas Love,
 Vincent Potter,
 Augustin Garland,
 Sir Miles Livesey,
 John Dexwel
 Simon Mayre,
 Daniel Blagrove,
 Col. Robert Lilburne,
 Col. Richard Deane,
 Col. Hewson,
 L. Col. William Goffe,
 Mr. Carew,
 Jo. Feanes.

92 In all.

Councellours assistant to draw up the Charge against the KING.

Dr. Isaac Dorislaus, Mr. Aske, Mr. Cook, and Mr. Steele, (who by reason of sicknesse was absent.)

Serjeant Dandy, Serjeant at Arms, M. Phelps Clerk.
 Messengers and Door-keepers.

Mr. Walsford, Mr. Radly, Mr. Paine, Mr. Howel,
 Mr. Hull. And Mr. King Cryer.

5.

*A true Relation of the Kings Speech to the
Lady Elizabeth and the Duke of Gloucester,
the Day before His Death.*

HIS Children being come to meet Him, He first gave His Blessing to the Lady *Elizabeth*, and bade her remember to tell her Brother *James*, when ever she should see him, That it was his Fathers last desire, that he should no more look upon *Charls* as his eldest Brother onely, but be obedient unto him as his Sovereign; and that they should love one another, and forgive their Fathers Enemies. Then said the King to her, Sweet-heart, you'l forget this: No, (said she) I shall never forget it while I live: and pouring forth a abundance of tears, promised him to write down the particulars.

Then the King taking the Duke of *Gloucester* upon His knee, said, Sweet-heart, Now they will cut off thy Fathers Head (upon which words the Childe looked very stedfastly on Him) Mark Childe what I say, They will cut off My Head, and perhaps make thee a King: But mark what I say, You must not be a King, so long as your Brothers, *Charls* and *James*, do live; For they will cut off your Brothers Heads (when they can catch them) and cut off thy Head too at the last: and therefore I charge you, do not be made a King by them. At which the Childe sighing, said, I will be torn in pieces first: which falling so unexpectedly from one so yong, it made the King rejoyce exceedingly.

*Another relation from the Lady Elizabeths
own Hand.*

WHat the King said to Me the 29 of Jan. 1648. being the last time I had the happineſſe to ſee Him, He told Me, He was glad I was come, and although He had not time to ſay much, yet ſomewhat He had to ſay to Me, which He had not to another, or leave in writing; becauſe He feared their cruelty was ſuch, as that they would not have permitted Him to write to me. He wiſhed me not to grieve and torment My ſelf for Him, for that would be a glorious death that He ſhould dye; it being for the Laws and Liberties of this Land, and for maintaining the true Proteſtant Religion. He bid Me reade Biſhop *Andrew's* Sermons, *Hooker's Eccleſiaſtical Polity*, and Biſhop *Laud's* Book againſt *Fiſher*, which would ground me againſt Popery. He told me, He had forgiven all His Enemies, and hoped God would forgive them alſo; and commanded us, and all the reſt of my Brothers and Sisters, to forgive them. He bid me tell My Mother, That His thoughts had never ſtrayed from Her, and that His love ſhould be the ſame to the laſt. Withal He commanded me and my Brother, to be obedient to her: And bid me ſend His bleſſing to the reſt of my Brothers and Sisters, with commendation to all His Friends. So after He had given me His bleſſing, I took my leave.

Further, He commanded us all to forgive thoſe people, but never to truſt them; for they had been moſt falſe to Him, and to thoſe that gave them power, and He feared alſo, to their own Souls: and deſired Me not to grieve for Him, for He ſhould dye a Martyr, and that He doubted not but the Lord would ſettle His Throne upon His Son, and that we ſhould be all happier, then we could have expected to have been, if He had lived: with many other things, which at preſent I cannot remember.

Elizabeth.

Another

7.

Another Relation from the Lady Elizabeth.

THe King said to the Duke of Gloucester, that He would say nothing to Him, but what was for the good of his Soul: He told him, That He heard the Army intended to make him King; but it was a thing not for him to take upon him, if he regarded the welfare of his soul, for he had two Brothers before him; and therefore commanded him upon His blessing, never to accept of it, unlesse it redounded lawfully upon him: And commanded him to fear the Lord, and He would provide for him.

8.

A Copy of a Letter sent from the Prince to the King, dated from the Hague. Jan. 23. 1648.

SIR, Having no means to come to the knowledge of Your Majesties present condition, but such as I receive from the Prints, or (which is as uncertain) Report, I have sent this Bearer *Seamour* to wait upon Your Majesty, and to bring Me an account of it: that I may withall assure Your Majesty, I do not onely pray for Your Majesty according to My Duty; but shall alwayes be ready to do all which shall be in My power, to deserve that blessing which I now humbly beg of Your Majesty upon

SIR, Your Majesties most humble
and most obedient Son and

Hague, Jan. 23.

1648.

Servant,

CHARLS.

The Supercription was thus, *For the King.*

D. d. 5

His



His MAJESTIES last Speech on the Scaffold at His Mar- tyrdom, Jan. 30. 1648.

Because we have no other Relation of what His Majesty then spake, save what His Enemies have set forth, nor had his Majesty any Copy (being surprized, and hastned by those that thirsted after His blood,) save onely a few Heads in a little Scrip of Paper, which the Souldiers took from the Bishop of London, to whom He gave it: therefore the Reader must be content with this Copy which they have published (some few words being altered to make the sence perfect, which either wilfully, or by mistake of the Writer or Printer were perverted.)

The King being come upon the Scaffold, and looking about him upon the people, who were kept off by Troops of Horse, so that they could not come near to hear Him, omitted what he had purposed to have spoken to them (as tis thought) and turning Himself to the Souldiers and Officers (the Instruments of the Regicide) spake to them to this effect.

I Shall be very little heard of any body else, I shall therefore speak a word unto you here: Indeed I could have held My peace very well, if I did not think that holding My peace, would make some men think that I did submit to the guilt, as well as to the punishment: But I think it is My duty to God first, and then

then to My Countrey, to clear My self both as an honest man, a good King, and a good Christian.

I shall begin first with My innocency, and in troth, I think it not very needful for Me to insist long upon this, for all the World knows that I never did begin a War with the two Houses of Parliament, and I call God to witnesse, to whom I must shortly make an account, that I never did intend to inroach upon their Priviledges, they began upon Me, it is the *Militia* they began upon; they confest that the *Militia* was Mine, but they thought it fit for to have it from Me; and to be short, if any body will look to the dates of Commissions, of their Commissions & Mine, and likewise to the Declarations, he will see clearly that they began these unhappy troubles, not I; so that as for the guilt of these Enormous crimes that are laid against Me, I hope that God will clear Me of it: I will not (for I am in charity) and God forbid that I should lay it upon the two Houses of Parliament, there is no necessity of either, I hope they are free of this guilt; but I believe that ill Instruments between them and Me, have been the chief cause of all this bloodshed; so that, as I finde My self clear of this, I hope (and pray God) that they may too: yet for all this, God forbid that I should be so ill a Christian, as not to say that Gods judgements are just upon Me: Many times he does pay Justice by an unjust sentence, that is ordinary: I will onely say this, That an unjust sentence that I suffered for to take effect, ** E. of* is punished now, by an unjust Sentence *Straff.* upon Me; so far I have said, to shew you that I am an innocent man.

Now for to shew you that I am a good Christian:
** Pointing* I hope there is ** a good man that will*
 to D. *Fuxon,* bear Me witnesse, That I have forgiven
E. of London all the World; and even those in particular that have been the chief causers of My Death; who they are, God knows, I do not desire to know, I pray God forgive them. But...

But this is not all, My charity must go farther, I wish that they may repent, for indeed they have committed a great sin in that particular; I pray God with S. Stephen, *That this be not laid to their charge*; and withall, that they may take the right way to the peace of the Kingdom, for My charity commands Me not onely to forgive particular men, but to endeavour to the last gasp, the peace of the Kingdom: So (Sirs) I do wish with all My Soul. (*I see there is Turning to some here will carry it further*) that they *some that* may endeavour the peace of the Kingdom. wrote.

Now (Sirs) I must shew you both how you are out of the way, and put you in a way; first you are out of the way, for certainly all the way you ever have had yet, as far as I could finde by any thing, is in the way of Conquest; certainly this is an ill way, for Conquest in My opinion is never just, except there be a good and a just cause, either for matter of wrong, or a just Title, and then if you go beyond the first quarrel that you have, that makes it unjust at the end that was just at first: For if there be onely matter of Conquest, then it is a great Robbery; as a Pirat said to Alexander, that He was the great Robber, himself was but a petty Robber; and so, Sirs, I do think for the way that you are in, you are much out of the way.

Now Sirs, for to put you in the way, believe it you will never go right, nor God will never prosper you, until you give God his due, the King his due (that is, My Successour) and the people their due; I am as much for them as any of you.

You must give God his due, by regulating rightly his Church (according to the Scripture) which is now out of order: and to set you in a way particularly
new

now I cannot, but onely this, A National Synod freely called, freely debating among themselves, must settle this, when every Opinion is freely and clearly heard.

For the King, indeed *I* will not, the Laws of the Land will clearly instruct you for that; therefore because it concerns My own particular, I onely give you a touch of it.

For the People. Truly *I* desire their Liberty and Freedom, as much as any body whomsoever; but I must tell you, That their Liberty and their Freedom, consists in having Government under those Laws, by which their Lives and their Goods, may be most their own. It is not in having a share in the Government, that is nothing pertaining to them. A Subject and a Sovereigne, are clean different things; and therefore, until you do that, I mean, That you do put the people into that Liberty as I say, certainly they will never enjoy themselves.

Sirs, It was for this, that now I am hither come: for if *I* would have given way to an Arbitrary way, for to have all Laws changed according to the power of the Sword, I needed not to have come here; and therefore, I tell you, (and I pray GOD it bee not laid to your charge) That I am the Martyr of the people.

Introth Sirs, I shall not hold you any longer; I will onely say this to you, That I could have desired some little time longer, because I would have put this that I have said, in a little better order, and have had it a little better digested, then I have done; and therefore I hope you will excuse Me.

I have delivered My Conscience, I pray Gods that you do take those courses that are best for the good of the Kingdom, and your own Salvations.

Bishop

Bishop of London.

Will your Majesty (though it be very well known what your Majesties affections are to Religion, yet because it may be expected, that You should say somewhat) declare your self for the Worlds satisfaction in that point.

KING.

I thank you very heartily (my Lord) for that, I had almost forgotten it. Introth Sirs, My Conscience in Religion, I think, is very well known to all the World; and therefore I declare before you all, That I die a Christian according to the profession of the Church of *England*, as I found it left to Me by My Father; and this honest man, (* pointing to the Bishop,) I think will witness it. Then turning to the Officers He said, Sirs, excuse Me for this same. I have a good Cause, and I have a gracious God; I will say no more.

Bishop of London.

There is but one Stage more. This Stage is turbulent and troublesome; it is a short one: But You may consider it will soon carry You from Earth to Heaven; and there You shall finde a great deal of Cordial Joy, and Comfort.

KING.

I go from a corruptible to an incorruptible Crown; where no disturbance can be, no disturbance in the World.

The Bishop.

You are exchanged from a temporal to an eternal Crown; a good exchange.

Then the King, after some short and fervent ejaculations in private, with hands and eyes lift up to Heaven; immediately stooping down, laid His neck upon the Block: And then the Wretch appointed to give the fatall blow, putting His hair under His Cap, the King said, Stay for the signe.

And

And after a very little pause, stretching forth His hands, The Villain at one blow, severed His Head from His Body.

*Sic cecidit Carolus, sic universa simul.
Brittania.*

Lam. 4. 20. The breath of our nostrils, the Anointed of the Lord was taken in their pits, of whom we said, under his shadow we shall live among the Heathen.

Chap. 5. 15, 16, 17. The joy of our heart is ceased, our dance is turned into mourning.

The Crown is fallen from our Head, we unto us that we have sinned.

For this our heart is faint, for these things our eyes are dim.

The



The Names of the pretended
Major and Aldermen of *London*
that personally proclaimed
the Act for the abolishing of
Kingly Government.

<p>Ald. <i>Andrews</i> Mayor, Alder. <i>Pennington</i>, Alderman <i>Foulkes</i>, Alderman <i>Kewrick</i>, Alderman <i>Byde</i>, Alderm. <i>Edmonds</i>, Alderman <i>Pack</i>,</p>	<p>Alderman <i>Bateman</i>, Alderman <i>Atkins</i>, Alderman <i>Venne</i>, Alderman <i>Avery</i>, Alderman <i>Wilson</i>, Alderman <i>Detbick</i>, Alderman <i>Foot</i>,</p>
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Proclaimed *May 30.* 1649.



A Speech made in Latine, by Dr. *Lotius*, to King CHARLS the 2^d, in the name of the Consistory of *Hague*, and in the presence of the rest of the Ministers of that Church, upon the death of King CHARLS the first, 7. *Calend Martii*, 1649.

SERENISSIME REX.

V Isum est Deo, summo rerum Arbitro ac Moderatori grave vulnus infligere SERENISSIMÆ FAMILIÆ TUÆ MAJESTATIS, cujus & nos sensu tacti, adsumus, ut si quod Magnus Paracletus consolationis suggererit Verbum, MAJESTATIS TUÆ in sinum expromamus.

Magna nobis pars solatii, & cum eo Patientiæ perit sapius, cum nimium intenti instrumentis & causis secundis, verberantem Dei manum non, ut oportet, consideramus. Nos ii non sumus, SERENISSIME REX, qui eos velimus excusatos, quorum Horrendum Facinus tam alti doloris causa est, absit, absit. Testamur enim coram Deo nostro, cui in Spiritu servimus, nos illud inauditum parricidium, illam execrandam lani-
enam Sacrosancti & Uncti Capitis & æternum deplo-
randam unci reformatæ Professionis Regis mactatio-
nem ex animo detestari. Quippe ni; cum Sacrilegum
hoc Scelus directe impugnet Deum per quem Reges
regnant; ejus verbum in Scriptura comprehensum,
ubi quæ CÆSARIS sunt, CÆSARI danda voluit;
qui Regum Rex est; imo injuriam faciat summam
Rationi, Humanitati & communi subjectorum Socie-
tati, & ostendat quid sit esse INDEPENDENTEM.
Quod

Quod volumus SERENISSIME REX, hoc est, adoranda esse, & probanda illa in Deo Judicia, quæ ut ut ingrata a nobis sunt & occulta sæpe, semper tamen justa. Quibus annumeranda præcipuè veniunt ea, quando per impios Deus probos exercet; vultque ut sui gemant sub pressura *Alienigenarum*, *ANGLOS enim eos non agnoscimus qui in Legitimū REGEM ANGLIÆ insurgunt*) quod tamen, quod solenne sit, non est quod è Scripturis utriusque Testamenti probemus, cum gravis hujus TUÆ MAJESTATIS SERENISSIMÆ FAMILIÆ afflictio abunde testimonio sit & documento. Ubi nihil nobis Christianis reliqui quani cum Regio vate ingeminare, *Tacui Domine quia tu fecisti*; respicere ad castigantem Dei Dextram; Animam possidere in patientia; forti Ultori Causam suam commendare, & Patrocinium; quinimò, pro inimicis intercedere apud Deum: sic preivit *Regia & jam in & cum CHRISTO suo* foelix Anima SERENISSIMI TUÆ MAJESTATIS PARENTIS, ad exemplum Salvatoris & Protomartyris *Stephani*: ut reversi ad Dominum Deum serio pœnitentiam agant, apudque eum culpam confessi & deprecati, & ad Dominum suum redeant & quoque ad officium, & debitam obedientiam; quod nos fore maximum ad veram Consolationem compendium existimamus. Quæ quidem consolatio tum demum vim exercebit suam, cum voluntas nostra, se supremæ voluntati subjecerit, atque actui ipso probaverit; nos non frustra, aut minus attentè, toties apud Deum exclamasse: *Fiat voluntas tua.*

Commendamus insuper TUÆ MAJESTATI curam ac defensionem Religionis Reformatæ, cujus in Angla Palladium in Synodi Nationalis Canonibus constare, *qui inter Beatos jam triumphat, in Articulo MORTIS REX PIENTISSIMUS* declaravit; quod nos certe non abnuimus: quani Religionem ut fartam tectam habere velit TUAM MAJESTATEM obnixè obsecramus. Quod superest, veneramur; venerabimurque

nurque summum illud Nomen, ut TUAM MAJESTATEM Spiritu suo in Cœlis induat; salutaribus Consiliis, & Consiliariis instruat; Patientiam illi largiatur; Sceptrum confirmet; totamque adeo SERENISSIMAM FAMILIAM in integrum restituat; & interim consoletur: Faxit hoc Pater Misericordiarum & omnis Consolationis in Christo per Spiritum Sanctum. *Amen.*



12.

The same done into English.

Most gracious King,

IT hath pleased God, the Supream Judge and Moderator of all things, to give a sore wound to Your MAJESTIES *Most Renowned Family*: With the sense whereof we likewise being deeply touched, are here present, that if the great *Comforter* shall minister any word of consolation, we may pour it forth into your MAJESTIES bosome.

A main portion of comfort, and (with that) of patience is oft-times lost unto us; when, being too intent upon instrumental and second Causes, we do not consider (as behoves) the wounding hand of GOD. We are none of those (*Most Gracious KING*) who would any way excuse them, whose *Horrible Villany* is the cause of so deep a sorrow. *God forbid! God forbid.*

For we publish and declare in the presence of our GOD, whom we serve in spirit, that we do detest from our souls, that *never till now heard of Parricide*, that execrable Butchery of the SACRED AND ANOINTED HEAD; and that eternally to be lamented *Murder* of

of the ONLY KING of the Reformed Religion. And why not? When as this cursed and *Sacrilegious wickednesse* does directly fight against God, By *whom Kings Reign*; against his Word revealed in Scripture, where He, who is King of Kings, wils and commands us, to give unto *Cesar the things which are Cesars*. Yea, and which does the highest affront that can be, to *Reason, Humanity, and the common society of Subjects*: And (in a word) shews what it is to be an *Independent*.

Most Renowned King, our desire is; That the judgements of God be adored and approved of; which, however they may be *irksome* unto us, and oft-times *secret*, yet they are alwayes *just*. Among which, these are especially to be numbred, *viz.* when God tryeth and exerciseth the *Righteous* by the *wicked*, and is pleased that *his own* should groan under the pressure of *Strangers*: (*For we do not acknowledge them to be* 'ENGLISH-MEN, *who do rise up against the lawful* 'KING OF ENGLAND.) Which yet, that it is frequent and usual, there is no need we should fetch proofs for it out of the holy Writ of the *Old and New Testament*; When as the heavy affliction which is now upon your MAJESTIES *Most Renowned Family*, is an abundant testimony and document. Where there is nothing left for us Christians, but to cry out and ingeminate it with the Kingly Prophet, *Lord, I opened not my mouth, for thou didst it*, to look up to the chastising right hand of God; to possesse the soul in *patience*; to commend *his own Cause* and the defence thereof to the *Mighty Avenger*; Yea, and moreover to intercede with GOD for our *Enemies*, as the *Royal Soul* of your MAJESTIES *Most Renowned Father*, who is now happy in and with his Christ, has led the way, after the *Example of our Saviour*, and the *Protomartyr S. Stephen*: That they turning to the LORD our GOD may seriously repent, and confessing this their great wickednesse unto him, and beseeching pardon for the same, may likewise return to their Liege-LORD,

as

as also to their Loyalty and due obedience. Which thing we conceive to be the most excellent and compendious way to true consolation: Which consolation shall then at length exercise its full vigour, when *our will* shall have submitted it self to the *Supream will* of GOD, and have evidenced *actually* and *indeed*, that we have not in vain, or lesse diligently, so often cried aloud unto GOD, *Thy will be done*.

We further commend to Your *Sacred* MAJESTY the defence and patronage of the Reformed Religion; whose very *safe guard* or *Sanctuary* in England, He (that *Most Religious* KING) *who now triumphs among the blessed*, did declare to the World at the point of death, to rest in the *Canons a National Synod* *. Which truly we can in *no wise deny*. Which Religion we do earnestly beseech, that Your MAJESTY would preserve safe and entire.

* See the Kings Speech upon the Scaffold.

For the rest, we do, and ever will pray unto the most high God, to endue Your MAJESTY with his heavenly Spirit; and to furnish You with saving *Counsels*, and faithful *Councillours*; to grant you patience, to establish Your Throne; and so to restore Your whole MOST ILLUSTRIOUS FAMILY to their *full Rights*; and in the mean while to comfort them.

The *Father* of mercies, and of all consolation, grant this in *Jesus Christ* by his holy Spirit. *Amen*.

Several

Several Verses made by diverse Persons upon
His MAJESTIES Death.

An Epitaph upon King CHARLS.

SO fals that Stately Cedar : while it stood,
That was the onely Glory of the Wood :
Great CHARLS, thou earthly God, Celestial Man,
Whose life, like others, though it were a Span ;
Yet in that Span was comprehended more
Then Earth hath waters, or the Ocean shore.
Thy heav'nly Vertues Angels should rehearse,
It is a Theme too high for humane Verse.
He that would know Thee right then, let him look
Upon thy rare incomparable Book ;
And read it o're and o're ; which if he do,
He'll finde thee King, and Priest, and Prophet too ;
And sadly see our loss ; and, though in vain,
With fruitless wishes call Thee back again.
Nor shall Oblivion sit upon Thy Hearse,
Though there were neither Monument nor Verse.
Thy fast rings and Thy Death let no man name ;
It was Thy Glory, but the Kingdoms Shame.

J. H.

ΜΑΡΙΤΥΣ, ὡς ὁ Θεός, Παῖδας ἡ Νόμος, ὃς δὲ ἔσται
Σκηπτεῖς ΚΑΡΟΛΟΣ μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν χειρῶν ἀληθινός.

Another.

Another :

He that can spel a Sigh, or reade a Tear ;
 Pronounce amazement, or Accent wilde Fear :
 Having All Grief by Heart, He, onely He
 Is fit to write and reade thy Elegy
 Unvalued CHARLS : Thou art so hard a Text,
 Writ in one Age, not understood i'th' next.

Another :

W Ithin this Sacred Vault doth lye
 The Quintessence of MAJESTY ;
 Which being Set, more Glorious shines,
 The best of Kings, best of Divines ;
 Britains shame, and Britains glory,
 Mirrour of Princes, complete Story
 Of Royalty ; One so exact
 That th' Elixers of praise dedract:
 These are faint Shadows : But t'endure,
 Hes drawn to th' Life in's PORTRACTURE :
 If such another Piece yon'l see,
 Angels must Limn it out, or He ;
 Where Wisdom, Grace and Eloquence,
 Are Centred in their Eminence.
 Martyr'd He was to save His Laws,
 Religion, People, from the Jaws
 Of ASSASINES ; whose weal He sought,
 Even then when they His Murder wrought
 With Horrid Plots, that Headless He
 (And in Him Church and State) might be.
 Then since Correlatives They were,
 Three Kingdoms in one KING lies here.

A. B.

Upon

Upon the Picture of His *Majesty*, sitting in
His Chair before the High Court
of Injustice.

4.

NOt so majestick in thy Chair of State !
On that but Men , Here God and Angels wait :
Expecting whether hopes of Life, or fear
Of Death, can move thee from thy Kingly sphear
Constant and fixt, whom no black storms can soyl,
Thy Colours, Head, and Soul, are all in oyl.

Upon the Picture of His *Majesty* in His
blew Wastcoat.

5.

HERE shines in a Feild *Azure* such a Star,
As at whose Fall Kingdoms amazed are.
Fixt by his fall. Chief of the sparkling train,
'Bove *Ariadnes* Crown, or his own Wayn.
Look ! what a ray he darts ? So *Moses* shone
While stupid *Israel* 'fore a Calf was thrown.
Onely the difference make, you must account
Him coming from, this going to the Mount.

An

Upon the death of King CHARLS the first.

Great ! Good ! and Just ! could I but rate
My griefs, and thy too rigid fate.

Ede weep the world to such a strain,
As it should deluge once again.

But since thy loud-tongu'd blood demands supply
More from Briareus hands, then Argus eye.

Ile sing thy obsequies with trumpet sounds,
And write thy Epitaph with blood and Wounds.

MONTROSSE.

Written with the point of his Sword.

7.

A Deep Groan at the Funeral of that Incomparable and glorious Monarch CHARLS the first.

TO speak our Griefs at full over thy Tombe
(Great Soul) we should be Thunder-struck and
The trivial Off rings of our bubling eyes (dumbe;
Are but fair Libels at such Obsequies.

When grief bleeds inward, not to sense, tis deep;
W'have lost so much, that twere a sin to weep.

The wretchet Bankrupt counts not up his summes,
When his inevitable ruine comes:

Our losse is finite when we can compute;

But that strikes speechlesse, which is past recruit.

W'are sunk to sense; and on the Ruine gaze,

As on a curled Comets fire blaze:

And Earthquakes fright us, when the teeming Earth
Rends ope her bowels for a fatal birth;

As Innndations seize our trembling eyes;

Whose rowling billowes over Kingdoms rise.

E c

Alas !

Alas! our Ruines are cast up, and sped
 In that black Total-*Charls* is Murthered.
 Rebellious Gyant hands have broke that Pole,
 On which our Orbe did long in Glory roule.
 That *Roman Monsters* wish in act we see,
 Three Kingdoms necks have felt the Ax in Thee,
 The Butchery is such, as when by *Cain*,
 The fourth division of the World was slain.
 The mangled Church is on the shambles lay'd,
 Her Massacre is on thy Block display'd,
 Thine is thy peoples epidemick Tombe,
 Thy Sacrifice a num'rous *Hecatombe*.
 The Powder-mine's now fir'd; we were not freed,
 But respited by Traytours thus to bleed.
Novembers plots are brew'd and broach'd in worse,
 And *January* now compleats the Curse.
 Our Lives, Estates, Laws, and Religion, all
 Lie crush'd, and gnashing in this dismal fall.

Accursed day that blottedst out our Light!
 May'st thou be ever muffled up in Night.
 At thy return may fables hang the skie;
 And tears, not beams, distil from Heavens Eye.
 Curs'd be that smile that guilds a Face on thee,
 The Mother of prodigious Villanie.
 Let not a breath be wofsted, but in moans,
 And all our words be but articulate groans.
 May all thy *Rubrick* be this dismal Brand;
 Now comes the miscreant Dooms-day of the Land.
Good-Friday wretchedly transcrib'd; and such
 As Horrour brings alike, though not so much.
 May Dread still fill thy minutes, and we sit
 Frighted to think, what others durst commit.

A Fact that copies Angels when they fell,
 And justly might create another Hell.
 Above the scale of Crimes; Treason sublim'd,
 That cannot by a parallel be rim'd.
Raviliacks was but under-graduate sin,
 And *Goury* here a Pupil Assassin.

Infidel wickedness, without the *Pale*;
 Yet such as justifies the *Cannibal*.
Ryot *Apochryphal* of *Legend* breed;
 Above the Canon of a *Jesuites* Creed.
 Spirits of witchcraft; quintessential guilt;
 Hells *Pyramid*; another *Babel* built.
 Monstrous in bulk; above our *Fancies* span;
 A *Behemoth*, a crime *Leviathan*.
 So desperately damnable, that here
 Ev'n *Wild* smells *Treason*, and will not appear.
 That murdering-peece of the new *Tyrant-State*,
 By whom't hath shot black *Destinies* of late;
 He that belched forth the *Loyal Burleighs* doom,
 Recoyles at this so dreadful *Martyrdom*.
 What depth of terrour lies in that offence,
 That thus can grinde a seared *Conscience*?

Hellish *Complotment*! which a *League* renews,
 Lesse with the men, then th'actions of the *Jews*.
 Such was their *Bedlam* *Rabble*, and the *Cry*
 Of *Justice* now, 'mongst them was *Crucifixe*:
Pilates Consent is *Bradshaws* Sentence here;
 The *Judgement-Hall*'s remov'd to *Westminster*.
 Hayle to the Reeden *Scepter*; the *Head*, and *knee*
 Act o're again that *Cursed* *Pageantry*.
 The *Caitiffe* crew in solemn pomp guard on
 Mock'd *Majesty* as not to th' *Block*, but *Throne*,
 The *Belch* agrees of those envenom'd *Lyes*;
 There a *Blasphemer*, here a *Murd'rer* dyes.
 If that go first in *horror*, this comes next,
 A pregnant *Comment* on that gasly *Text*.
 The *Heavns* nere saw, but in that *Tragick* howre,
 Slaughter'd so great an *Innocence* and *Power*.

Blood-thirsty *Tygers*! could no stream suffice
 T'allay that *Hell* within your breasts but this?
 Must you needs swill in *Cleopatras* *Cup*,
 And drink the price of *Kingdoms* in a sup?
Cisterns of *Loyalty* have deeply bled,
 And now y'have damm'd the *Royal Fountain Head*.

Cruel *Plebotomie* ! at once to drain
 The *Median*, and the rich *Basilick* vein :
 The tinctures great that popular murther brings,
 Tis Scarlet deep, that s dy d in blood of Kings.

But what, could *Israel* finde no other way
 To their wish d *Canaan* then through the Red Sea ?
 Must God have here his deading fire and Cloud,
 And he be th Guide to this outrageous Crowd ?
 Shall the black *Conclave* counterfeit his hand,
 And superscribe their Guilt, *Divine* cominand ?
 Doth th ugly Fiend usurpe a Saint-like grace ?
 And Holy-water wash the Devils face !
 Shall *Dagons* Temple the mock d *Ark* inclose ?
 Can *Esaus* hands agree with *Jacobs* voice ?
 Must *Molechs* fire now on the Altar burn ?
 And *Abels* blood to Expiation turn ?
 Is Righteousnesse so lewd a Bawd ? and can
 The *Bibles* Cover serve the *Alcoran* ?
 Thus when Hels meant, Religion s bid to shine
 As *Faux* his Lantern lights him to his *Mine*.
 Here, here is sins *non ultra*, when one Lie,
 Kils this, and stabs at *Majesty*.
 And though his sleepey arm suspend the scourge,
 Nor doth loud blood in winged Vengeance urge,
 Though the soft hours a while in pleasures flie,
 And conquering Treason sing her Lullabie.
 The guilt at length in fury he l inroul
 With barbed arrows on the traitrous soul.
 Time may be when that *John-a-Leyden* King
 His Quarters to this Tombe an Offring bring,
 And that *Be-Munster* d Rabble may have eyes
 To read the price of their dear Butcheries.
 Yet if just Providence reprieve the Fate,
 The judgement will be deeper though t be late.
 And after-times shall feel the curse enhanc d,
 But how much they've the sin bequeath'd, advanc'd.

Mean time (most blessed shade) the Loyal Eye
 Shall pay her Tribute to thy memory.

Thy

Thy *Aromatick* Name shall feast our sense,
'Bove balmy *Spiknards* fragrant Redolence,
Whilst on thy loathsome Murderers shall dwell,
A plague-sore, blayn, and rotten Ulcers smell.
Wonder of men and goodnesse ! stamp'd to be
The Pride, and flourish of all History.
Thou hast undone the Annals, and engross'd
All th' *Heroes* glory which the Earth ere lost.
Thy priviledge tis onely to commence.
Laureate in Sufferings, and in patience.
Thy wrongs were 'bove all sweetnesse to digest,
And yet thy sweetnesse conquer'd the sharp test :
Both so immense , and infinitely vast,
The first could not be reach'd, but by the last.
Mean Massacres are but in death begun ;
But thou hast liv'd an execution.
Close coffin'd up in a deceased Life ;
Had Orphan-Children, and a Widow-Wife.
Friends not t' approach, or comfort, but to mourn
And weep their un-heard plaints , as at thy urn ?
Such black attendants Colonied thy Cell,
But for thy presence *Carisbrook* had been Hell.
Thus basely to be Dungeon'd, would enrage
Great *Bajazet* beyond an iron Cage.
That deep indignity might have layn
Something the lighter from a *Tamerlain*.
But here *Sidonian* Slaves usurpe the Reins,
And lock the Scepter-bearing Arms in chains.
The spew'd up surfeit of the glut'nous Land :
Honour'd by scorn, and clean beneath all brand.
For such a Varlet-Brood to tear all down,
And make a common Foot ball of the Crown,
T'insult on wounded Majesty, and broach,
The blood of Honour by their vile reproach.
What royal eye but thine could sober see,
Bowing so low, yet bearing up so high ?
What an unbroken sweetnesse grac'd thy Soul,
Beyond the World, proud conquest, or controul ?

Maugre grim cruelty, thou keepst thy hold ;
 Thy Thorny Crown was still a Crown of Gold.
 Chaste Honour, Might enrag'd could ne're deflour,
 Though others th' Use, Thou claim'dst the Right of
 power.

The brave Athenian thus with (lopp'd-off Hands)
 A stop to swelling sayles by s'mouth commands.
 New Vigour rouz'd Thee still in thy Embroyles,
Axtaus like, recruiting from the Foyles.
 Victorious fury could not terrour bring,
 Enough to quell a captivated King.
 So ~~did~~ that *Roman Miracle* withstand
Hetrurian shoals, but with a single hand.
 The Church in thee had still her Armies ; thus
 The World once fought with *Athanasius*.
 The Gantlet thus upheld ; it is decreed,
 (No safety else for Treason) *Charls* must bleed.
 Traytour and Sovereign now inverted meet ;
 The wealthy Olive s dragd to th' Brambles feet.
 The Throne is Metamorphiz'd to the Barre,
 And despicable Bats the Eagle dare.
 Astonishment ! yet still we must admire
 Thy courage growing with thy conflicts high'r.
 No palsied hands or trembling knees betray
 That Cause, on which thy souls sure bottom'd lay.
 So free and undisturbed flew thy Breath,
 Not as condemn'd, but purchasing a Death.
 Those early Martyrs in their funeral pile,
 Embrac'd their flames with such a quiet smile.
 Brave *Cœur-de-Lyon* Soul, that would st not vayl
 In one base syllable to beg thy Bayl !
 How didst thou blush to live at such a price,
 As ask'd thy people for a sacrifice ?
 Th' *Athenian Prince* in such a pitch of zeal,
 Redeem'd his destin'd Hoast, and Common-weal ;
 Who brib'd his cheated Enemies to kill,
 And both their Conquest, and their Conquerour sell.
 Thus thou our Martyr dyedst : but oh ! we stand

A Ransome for another *Charls* his Hand.
 One that will write thy Chronicle in Red,
 And dip his Pen in what thy Foes have bled.
 Shall treasnous Heads in purple Caldrons drench,
 And with such veins the flames of Kingdoms quench.
 Then thou art least at *Westminster*, shal t be
 Fil d in the pompous List of Majesty.
 Thou *Mausolaurm* shall in glory rise,
 And tears, and wonder force from Nephews Eyes.
 Til when (though black-mouth d *Miscreants* engrave)
 No Epitaph, but Tyrant, on thy Grave.
 A Vault of Loyalty shall keep thy Name,
 An orient, and bright *Olibian* flame.
 On which, when times succeeding foot shall tread,
 Such Characters as these shall there be read.

Here *Charls* the best of Monarchs, butcher'd lies;
 The Glory of all *Martyrologies*.

Bulwark of Law; the Churches Cittadel;
 In whom they triumph d once, with whom they fell:
 An English *Solomon*, a *Constantine*;
 Pandect of Knowledge, Humane and Divine.
 Meek ev'n to wonder, yet of stoutest Grace.
 To sweeten Majesty, but not debase.
 So whole made up of clemency, the Throne
 And Mercy-seat to Him were alwayes one.
 Inviting Treason with a pardoning look,
 Instead of Gratitude, a stab He took.
 With passion lov d, that when He muredred lay,
 Heav'n conquered seem'd, and Hell to bear the sway.
 A Prince so richly good, so blest a Reign.
 The World ne're saw but one, nor can again.

—— *Humano genere Natura benigna*
Nil dedit, aut tribuet moderato hoc principe majus
In quo verâ dei, vivensque eluxit imago:
Hunc quoniam scelerata cohors violavit, acerbâs
Sacrilego Deus ipse petet de sanguine pœnas
Contemptumq; sui Simulachri haud linquet inultum.

Parodia ex Buchananani Geneth: Jacobi sexti.

D. H. K.

F I N I S.



